DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 202 132 EA 013 584

TITLE	Educational Policy and Planning. Compensatory Education Programmes in the United States.
INSTITUTION	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris (France).
PUB DATE	81
NOTE	340p.; With a resume in French. Some charts may reproduce poorly due to marginal legibility of original document.
AVAILABLE FROM	OECD Publications and Information Center, Suite 1207, 1750 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20006 ($17.00).
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	*Compensatory Education; Disabilities; *Economically Disadvantaged; Educationally Disadvantaged; *Federal Aid; *Federal Programs; Minority Groups; National Programs; Program Development; Program Effectiveness; State Federal Aid; Student Loan Programs; Success; Vocational Education; Work Study Programs; Youth Employment
IDENTIFIERS	Basic Educational Opportunity Grants; Comprehensive Employment and Training Act; Educational Opportunity Centers; *Elementary Secondary Education Act Title I; *Project Head Start; Special Services for Disadvantaged Students; Talent Search; Teacher Corps; Upward Bound

ABSTRACT

This description of federal compensatory education programs for the economically disadvantaged was prepared for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's review of national education policies. As background, the report first describes the U.S. educational system, the social and educational changes since 1954 that gave rise to compensatory programs, and the current debates over these programs. Six chapters then discuss the goals, target populations, services, and results of federal compensatory programs at the preschool, elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels, including the training of teachers to serve disadvantaged groups. Among the programs covered are Head Start, Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), youth employment training, vocational education, Upward Bound, Talent Search, Special Services for Disadvantaged Students, Educational Opportunity Centers, college work study, Educational Opportunity Grants, college student loans, and the Teacher Corps. Three final chapters examine the compensatory programs' common objectives and implementation procedures, assess the programs' impact on educational resources and achievement, and analyze the multiplicity of federal compensatory programs and the proposed solutions to this problem. An appendix presents detailed case studies of Head Start, Title I of ESEA, and the Teacher Corps. (RW)

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND PLANNING

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION PROGRAMMES IN THE UNITED STATES

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PARIS 1980

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NOTE BY THE OECD SECRETARIAT

This report on Compensatory Education Programmes in the United States was prepared by the U.S. Department of Education to provide background information for the OECD Review of Educational Policies in the United States.

The Examiners' Report, together with the record of the Review meeting held within the OECD Education Committee in Paris, on 21 June 1979, will be published separately in the series Reviews of National Policies for Education.

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INTRODUCTION

This report, somewhat longer and more detailed in its original draft form, was prepared to assist the team of examiners from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) Education Committee in understanding compensatory education in the United States. The background report contains a wealth of statistics and gives detailed accounts of several selected programs that are the result of United States Federal government policies.

Education in the United States is not a national responsibility. In framing the Constitution, the wise men of the time said nothing about education, probably because it was hardly a growth industry at the end of the American Revolution. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided that towns should set aside land on which to build schools, but this was before any States existed in what was referred to as the Northwest Territory, the unsettled land west of the Appalachian Mountains and north of the Ohio River.

As new States became established and framed their own constitutions, some of them paid more attention than others to education. For example, Thomas Jefferson, in drafting the Virginia Constitution, explicitly provided for schooling as a State responsibility. Members of local school boards are even today State Constitutional officers in Virginia. But with fifty States, there are fifty separate although similar State education codes, some embodied in State Constitutions, others not.

In all States, school attendance is compulsory. In most, it begins at the age of six; some States require kindergarten attendance. Elementary schools generally include grades 1 through 6. Grades 7 through 9 may be considered junior high school; other organizations have grades 6 through 8 or 5 through 8 as intermediate schools. Grade 9 may be included in high school; grades 10 through 12 almost always are.

The growth of the Federal interest in education began in the latter part of the 19th century and has continued to the present time. Growth of Federal influence has followed investment of Federal dollars, usually in the form of categorical programs to aid particular kinds of children, or to fund specific kinds of activities that Congress has been persuaded are necessary for the benefit of the nation. The history of Federal education policy is traced in chapter II of the report, so that the logic of Federal responsibility in taking the lead to develop compensatory education strategies for certain parts of the population is understandable.

Educators in European nations may wonder what all the concern is about, since they are more used to the model of a national level education department directing the activity of schools throughout their countries. However, in the United States local school boards believe that they know far better than any Federal bureaucrat how to operate the schools that serve the children and young people of their districts. The model that has developed in the United States can be characterized as a Federal/State/local partnership in which the major responsibility for funding and operating schools is shared between the State and local levels except for selected programs, many of which are directed to special "target" populations.

Chapters III through VIII describe different special programs in which the Federal government has taken the lead. They include Head Start, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, student financial assistance measures for postsecondary education, and some other less well-known programs. In any Federal program, there is usually careful consideration of the way in which administration and funding should involve the State and local education agencies, and a number of different patterns have evolved.

The Federal programs have generally been evaluated on behalf of legislators in Congress who wanted to be sure that the funds were indeed being used to help the populations they were intended to help, in the ways that were planned, and not for other purposes. Fiscal accountability has been a problem for local level administrators; one principal could be required to prepare as many as 30 or 40 different Federal program reports required for a large elementary school in a poverty neighborhood. In such cases, principals and others have complained that they really needed to be able to prepare comprehensive school-wide plans, not fragmentary plans for dozens of little programs each affecting some small subgroup of students.

The potentially, negative effect at the school level of a large number of Federal programs, created seriatim and administered under separate guidelines, is one of the major issues raised by this report and by the examiners' review. While the evaluation of these programs indicate that target populations are receiving the intended services, it may well be time to take a broader look, with some of the perspectives suggested by the OECD examiners and other recent critics in this country.

The establishment of a separate Education Department at the cabinet level in 1980 may provide new opportunities for program review as the reorganized components of the former Office of Education are placed in appropriate parts of the Department. No early or sudden changes should be expected, legislative authorities will not be changed before the next scheduled reauthorization of the programs. The only new initiative on the scene is the proposed youth employment bill, which combines some of the features of Title I ESEA formula grants and some aspects of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) to provide basic education and job training for disadvantaged secondary school-age youth, whether in or out of school.

A wealth of information about compensatory education programs initiated by Federal legislation in the United States has been gathered into this volume. With the companion OECD reports, the compendium of useful information and thoughtful criticism should provide readers with a broad overview of one country's experiences with education for disadvantaged people along with the evaluation of several uninvolved but sympathetic critics.

PART ONE

BACKGROUND OF FEDERAL POLICIES

CHAPTER I

NATURE AND SCOPE OF THIS REPORT

FOCUS ON ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION

1. A review of U.S. Federal policies for education of the disadvantaged must begin with a definition or explanation of the term "disadvantaged" in the context of American education. Initially, as the 1960s "war on poverty" was launched, the term was a euphemism for "poor people." From that time to the present, however, there has never been a completely compelling argument that poverty corresponds directly with educational disadvantage. Nevertheless, many compensatory programs have been based on that premise.

2. In the mid-1960s, the "rediscovery" of poverty in the United States and the movement for racial equality supported major social legislation at the national level that produced many programs, including educational programs, to aid the disadvantaged. Poor people and minorities had not been succeeding in their educational experiences. Since lack of education appeared to be a crucial causative factor in the "poverty cycle" and was believed to be open to effective change, enhancing and improving educational opportunity became a major strategy of the Federal government for combating the national problems of poverty and discrimination.

3. Early attempts to select those who would receive Government services generally rested on the establishment of a maximum level of family or personal income as a standard for eligibility. However, as analysts uncovered the complexities of the different social needs of various groups, local economies, costs of living, family sizes, and employment factors, the inadequacy of a single standard of income became more and more evident. At the same time, programs were proliferating, and the need for careful targeting of limited funds became more acute. Among the programs designed during the decade, criteria for eligibility have varied from very loose indications of economic disadvantagement to very elaborate formulas and processes for making sure that public funds would go only to those whom Congress intended to reach.

4. Also during this period, other conditions of social need and their impact on education have been recognized in public policy debate--conditions such as physical or mental handicaps, sex stereotyping, geographic isolation, linguistic isolation, etc. Further, there has been a growing recognition that group needs, while useful for setting some broad policy outlines, do not point to wholly adequate means for serving individual educational needs. However, short of a process that investigates the individual situations of millions of children, the United States, in order to disburse Federal aid to the educationally disadvantaged, has had to rely primarily on broad indicators of economic status and closely associated identifications with racial/ethnic groupings. We still do not have a precise definition of the term "disadvantaged," despite long experience in attempting to determine exactly which individuals need help. Current policy continues the primary linkage between educational disadvantage and various kinds of economic deprivation in the definition of disadvantage.

5. By not focusing major attention on the conditions of physical and mental handicap, neglect, delinquency, sex stereotyping, and geographic isolation, etc., we do not imply that these conditions deserve less attention than economic need. The decision to limit our major focus is made purely on the basis of practicality. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) review presents an opportunity for serious study and reexamination of a limited set of Federal policies. Each of the conditions noted above would deserve more intense scrutiny than the time and space constraints on the current report permit. Equality of educational opportunity for physically and mentally handicapped children is a major case in point. The Education for All Handicapped Children Act and the policies it embodies would be sufficient in themselves to warrant a separate major study of this type.

6. For the purposes of this report we break down economically deprived children and youth into two categories: (1) those who are themselves poor as a result of family economic status; and (2) those who live in areas of poverty concentration and therefore, although they may not themselves be poor, are nonetheless affected by poverty.

FOCUS ON FEDERAL POLICIES

7. The structure and governance of education in the United States is highly diversified and decentralized. The major fiscal support and the major policy and management decisions regarding schools--selecting curriculum, personnel, materials, etc.--as well as the day-to-day operation of schools, emanate from the local and State levels. Federal support for education grew markedly in the mid-1960s. However, even today the Federal government contributes only about 8-10 percent of school revenues. The basic nature of Federal involvement is that of a supplementary source of financial assistance for providing education. Federal policies seek to accomplish national goals and to correct imbalances and disparities in education in the national interest.

8. The Federal/State/local partnership that has evolved attempts to satisfy national interests and at the same time to recognize and reinforce the rich diversity, local flexibility and basic autonomy that characterize American education. There is no single common set of policies for general education in the United States. The same is true with regard to the efforts of State and local authorities to enhance educational opportunity for the disadvantaged. Those separate efforts present an extremely broad range of differences in policy, resource levels, and results.

9. In the 1960s the Federal government took the national lead in combating inequalities in American education. Consequently, as policies were developed, as programs were mounted, and as pertinent legal decisions were issued by the judicial system, a set of policies with some consistency evolved around Federal programs. Although these policies applied only to the uses of Federal funds or to safeguarding the constitutional rights of individuals, they represent the most cohesive national force in American education's efforts to equalize opportunity.

FOCUS ON EDUCATION

10. In the mid-1960s there was a groundswell of awareness of those in American society for whom the traditional educational process was simply not working: the people who had no job skills, people who were illiterate, people who were only marginally prepared for work, people who needed retraining or upgrading of skills, children who were doing poorly in school, etc. Helping ensure equal educational opportunity, an established goal of the society,

gained more importance as a strategy for breaking the poverty cycle and upgrading the life chances of the disadvantaged. Training for work also became a major strategy in the nation's efforts to combat poverty. The two strategies are often intertwined and sometimes confused with one another.

11. The literature is filled with attempts to differentiate the qualities and processes of "education" and "training." This report does not attempt to draw a very precise distinction. The features most characteristic of "education," as noted by scholars, practitioners, and policymakers, are usually those associated with formalized instruction in learning skills and academic subjects, usually in a classroom or institution. "Training" on the other hand is most often associated with acquiring specific job skills to prepare for employment. This report focuses primarily on formal education leading to a specific certified credential.

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

12. This report is concerned with the educational problems of the disadvantaged at the preschool, elementary, secondary, and formal postsecondary levels. Although the most compelling problems of disadvantaged adults have been recognized and to some extent confronted in the United States, the major efforts in U.S. education policies for the disadvantaged have been at the lower age levels and within the formal education process. It has been assumed that disadvantaged children in the formal education process, or within that age range, are more easily reached and helped than are adults who have already left the system. While most training programs serve adults and youth of employable age, most educational services are focused on school-age youth, with the purpose of keeping such children in school, helping them succeed in school, and encouraging their pursuit of postsecondary education.

POLICIES AND PROGRAMS REVIEWED

13. The lines are often blurred between policies and programs affecting the education of the disadvantaged and those affecting education in general. The Federal efforts reported here provide supplementary support for education of the disadvantaged. These same children, however, obviously benefit from other Federal, State, and local efforts for education in general. Several kinds of Federal policies and programs benefit the disadvantaged. The focus

of this review is on those policies and programs that provide (as a primary or secondary focus) direct, supplementary educadtional services targeted on disadvantaged children and youth.

MAJOR CONCERNS

14. In trying to encompass the massive social effort undertaken in the past 10 to 15 years, we have identified many issues on many levels of policy debate. To deal with a massive amount of material and limit the U.S. report to a manageable level, we have employed a "case study" approach in describing programs, focusing our discussion on a selected number of major programs. The report itself presents a brief overview of American education with emphasis on the Federal policy structure. The historical background of compensatory education is discussed, and selected programs are described in separate chapters. Following the specific program descriptions, general themes and important issues are reviewed. An appendix contains four detailed case studies.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING

OVERVIEW OF THE U.S. EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

15. Authority for education in the United States is not centralized on a national basis.[1] The 10th Amendment to the Constitution provides that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Since responsbility for education is not mentioned in the Constitution, it is legally reserved to the States. Thus, each State has the right and responsibility to organize and operate its educational system as it deems appropriate, subject to Constitutional guarantees of the rights and privileges of U.S. citizens.

16. The statutory provisions for establishment of educational institutions and programs vary greatly among the States. Some are quite specific; others simply mention educational matters in broad terms. Considerable responsibility is often delegated to local educational authorities. Despite various differences among the States, in practice the organizational patterns of education in the 50 States are relatively similar.

17. Education in the United States is compulsory, usually from the age of 6 to 16, and free through completion of secondary school (grade 12) for those who attend public schools, which are available to all children. It aims to assure equality of access and of educational opportunity to both boys and girls and now to all minority groups, including the handicapped. Legislation also permits establishment of private schools on every level, subject to State licensing and accreditation regulations. These institutions may receive limited governmental aid for specialized purposes but are for the most part financially autonomous.

18. It is the goal of American education to provide every child with equal opportunity for a high quality education that will enable each person to achieve his or her highest potential in a free society and to function as an effective citizen in the modern world. The non-centralized nature, pluralistic character, and democratic orientation of American education are well suited to the large and complex national situation.

19. In the fall of 1977, education was the primary activity of approximately 63.8 million Americans.[2] Included in that total were an estimated 60.4 million students enrolled in our schools and colleges, 3.1 million teachers, and about 300,000 superintendents, principals, supervisors, and other instructional staff members. This means that in a nation with 217 million people, nearly 3 out of every 10 persons were directly involved in the educational enterprise.

20. It is estimated that the following percentages of the school-age population were enrolled in school (excluding nursery school) in the fall of 1977: of 5-year-olds (the usual kindergarten age), 90 percent; of 6- to 13-year-olds (grades 1 though 8), 99 percent; of 14- to 17-year-olds (grades 9 through 12), 94 percent; and of 18- to 24-year-olds (college age), 30 percent.[3]

21. The number of local school districts has declined over the past two decades as a result of consolidation and elimination of many small districts, and the concentration of pupils in large and middle size systems. In 1978 there were about 16,000 local school districts. The number of school buildings has also declined sharply largely as a result of closings of one-teacher schools.

22. Expenditures for public and private education from kindergarten through graduate school are estimated at $131 billion for the 1976-77 school year, and estimates placed the 1977-78 figure at about $142 billion. Elementary and secondary schools expended more than $85 billion in 1976-77, while institutions of higher education spent more than $45 billion. Public schools and colleges spent nearly $108 billion in 1976-77, compared to about $23 billion for nonpublic institutions. The total expenditures for education during 1976-77 amount to 7.7 percent of the gross national product (GNP).

23. Nationally, the current annual expenditure per pupil in public elementary and secondary schools was 2.8 times as large in 1975-76 as it was a decade earlier. The rise was from an average $537 per pupil in 1965-66 to $1,509 in 1975-76. The average expenditure per pupil in 1977-78 was expected to exceed $1,700. The largest item in the school budget is teachers' salaries, and expenditure increases in recent years reflect the efforts of local school systems to provide more adequate compensation for their instructional staff. The rise in expenditures would be much smaller, of course, if allowance were made for changes in the purchasing power of the dollar.

24. The role of the Federal government in providing support to education at all levels has grown very substantially during the past decade. Federal grants amounted to $5.2 billion in fiscal year 1966; in 1976 they reached approximately $19.1 billion. Grants to elementary and secondary education increased from $2.0 billion to about $4.8 billion during the decade, while grants to higher education went from $2.3 billion to $9.6 billion.

25. More than 3.1 million persons a year graduated from high school in 1975, 1976, and 1977. The size of these graduating classes reflects the high birth rate in the late 1950s and early 1960s as well as the tendency of most young Americans to remain in school at least until high school graduation. About 75 percent of the young people today finish high school, and about 45 percent (or about 60 percent of the high school graduates) can be expected to enter a degree-credit program in a college or university.

THE FEDERAL POLICYMAKING MACHINERY

26. This review is focused on Federal policies for education of the disadvantaged and does not attempt to consider the many State and local policies. Even within the Federal sector, there is not one single policy nor one single process. Educational policymaking at the Federal level is a complex mixture of actions that include the legislative process, which establishes the authority to operate programs, the process of issuing regulations which define how the programs are to be operated and the process of appropriating funds to be expended for each program. In every instance the interrelationships of the Congress, the Executive Branch, the public in general, and a wide range of education interest groups continue to shape the results of the processes as they occur. This section briefly describes the major processes and participants in the Federal policymaking arena.

Major Processes

27. The major Federal processes include the enactment of legislation to authorize programs, the issuance of regulations which define program operation, and the appropriation of money for them.

28. Formulation and Enactment of Legislation. The content of a bill may originate with the Executive Branch, a member of Congress, State and local governments, or any individual or group outside the government.

29. If the origin of a bill is within the Executive Branch, there are a number of steps and interactions that occur prior to submission of the proposal by the President to the Congress. Discussions of the proposed legislation are carried on by the responsible department with the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the White House domestic policy staff and Congressional staff. The Administration's proposed bill is submitted to the Congress either through the President's annual State of the Union message, through a special message, or through reauthorization proposals in the case of existing legislation that is due to expire.

30. The progress of a bill through the Congress involves several major steps: introduction of the bill, assignment to a Committee, processing and hearings by the assigned Committee, floor action in both Houses, conferencing by representatives of both Houses to resolve differences in the two versions of a bill, acceptance by both Houses of the conference report, and enrollment of the legislation.

31. The public and the many education "interest groups" have many opportunities to express views on the bill during the hearings process. At other times during the movement of the bill, public access usually takes the form of direct interaction with members of the Congress, and with committee members in particular.

32. Although this brief summary implies that there are ordinarily just two versions of a bill (House and Senate), this is not always the case. There may be several bills on one topic circulating in both Houses of Congess at the same time during the formulation of legislation. The varying positions are usually resolved either by action in the Committee or in the course of floor debate.

33. The Regulations Process. Once a bill has been enacted into law by the Congress and signed by the President, it becomes the responsibility of the Executive Branch cabinet to issue regulations toestablish operational procedures, if those have not been addressed in the statute itself, and to expand upon and clarify the language of the statute. Regulations have the force of law; however, they must remain within the bounds of the original legislation and cannot create new law.

34. The regulatory process for educational programs has come under increasing scrutiny in recent years. Steps are being taken to improve the regulations process, to simplify and clarify the language of existing and future regulations,

and to eliminate unnecessary regulations. Issuance of regulations involves a process constructed to encourage and allow for review and comment. New regulations are published first for public review and only after a period of comment in final form. Each such issuance must undergo clearance by several levels of review within the cabinet department.

35. The Budget and Appropriations Process. The annual budget preparation, followed by the appropriation process, involves both the Executive Branch and the Congress. Until 1975 Congress did not take action on the total budget proposed by the President all at one time. The Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974 established Budget Committees in both Houses of the Congress and a Congressional Budget Office (CBO) that provides support, analysis, etc., for both the Senate and the House. The 1974 Act requires that the Congress set target figures for new budget authority, for budget outlays, receipts, the budget surplus or deficit, and the public debt. These actions, culminating in concurrent resolutions, must take place before final action on spending occurs.

36. The Executive Branch prepares a budget for each program every fiscal year. The budget is submitted by the President in the State of the Union Message every January 20. Within the Executive Branch, the process of formulating the budget is similar to the process of formulating proposed legislation. Congress considers the President's requests in the overall budget in two ways: The Budget committees look at requests across all programs, aided in this process by the Congressional Budget Office. The appropriations committees then take action on separate programs, within the structures of the budget resolution. Differences between the actions in the two Houses are resolved in conference.

The Principal Participants

37. Educational policy at the Federal level in the United States involves the complex interactions of four major groups: (1) the Congress and Congressional staff; (2) the various elements of the Executive Branch; (3) educational structures existing at the State and local levels; and (4) education organizations and the public at large.

38. The Congress. The Senate and the House of Representatives each has a structure of committees, subcommittees, staff, and partisan organizations. Although internal processes for both Houses of Congress are basically similar, there are some technical differences.

- o Congressional Committees. Committees and Subcommittees are composed of members of both the majority and minority parties in specific proportions. Chairmanships, as well as membership on a committee, are based on seniority of individual members as well as the member's personal preferences of the options he or she has. There are three principal types of committees: authorizing, budget, and appropriations. Under the current structure of authorizing committees and subcommittees, there are four subcommittees in the Senate and five in the House that have major jurisdiction over education matters. However many other committees and subcommittees in the Congress may take action on education-related matters. For example, a study conducted in 1975 by the staff of the Committee on Education and Labor (House) found an estimated 439 program authorities affecting postsecondary education. Jurisdiction over these program authorities was divided among 18 of the 22 standing committees in the House and 16 of the 18 Senate committees.

- o Congressional Staffs. Each member of Congress has a personal staff that helps to manage the member's immediate office and personal initiatives in his or her work. In addition, there are usually separate staffs for both the majority and the minority party members of a committee or subcommittee. Also, there is a range of support-staff organizations, such as the Congressional Research Service (CRS) and the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) that provide services to all members of the Congress. Congressional staff members may exert considerable influence over policy decisions because of their expertise in particular topics.

39. The Executive Branch. The Executive Branch is organized into 13 cabinet-level departments, 184 agencies, and the Executive Office of the President. It has been estimated by the Federal Interagency Committee on Education (FICE) that about 40 different segments of the Executive Branch are involved in the administration of educational programs sponsored by the Federal government. This report focuses on a limited group of Federal programs specifically aimed at the education of disadvantaged children and youth. These programs are administered in at least five separate departments or agencies of the Federal government; however, the major locus of responsibility has been in the Department of Health,

Education, and Welfare (HEW). Within HEW, the major responsibility for administration of the programs was in the United States Office of Education (OE), a component of the Education Division of HEW. In early 1980, the education programs heretofore administered by the Office of Education will be combined with others in HEW and elsewhere in a new Education Department. In this description of the policy-making machinery at the Federal level of government, the description will include the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the Office of Education , the newly created Education Department, and various statutorily-established advisory groups. It is expected that the separate Department of Education will function in ways similar to HEW.

40. OMB. In general, most education matters are handled within OMB's Human Resources Division. Of the numerous functions that OMB carries out for the President, three that are most relevant to this report are the following:

(1) To assist the President in the preparation of the budget and in the fiscal program of the Federal government. To supervise and control the execution of the budget.

(2) To help the President form a consistent legislative program by coordinating departmental views on proposed, pending, or passed legislation.5/

(3) To assist the President in his effort to develop and maintain effective government by reviewing the organizational structures and management processes of the Executive Branch.

41. The Office of Education. The largest component of the Education Department comes from the former U.S. Office of Education (USOE), which was headed by a Commissioner of Education, appointed by the President. OE was created by Act of Congress on March 2, 1867, as an independent agency. It became part of the Department of the Interior in 1869. In 1939 it was transferred to the Federal Security Agency, which in 1953 became the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In 1867, OE had a staff of four and a budget of $25,000. In 1979 it had nearly 3,000 employees and a budget of over $10 billion. It administered more than 100 programs, most of them operated through State and local agencies. These programs affect students in virtually all of the nation's 16,000 school districts, 3,000 institutions of higher education and some 10,000 occupational schools.

42. The Department of Education. In the fall of 1979, legislation was enacted to create a separate cabinet-level department for education, which has been only a small part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Education represented about 7 percent of the entire HEW budget. Many special interest groups, including teachers' and administrators' organizations, labor unions, parent groups concerned with special needs of various kinds favored the formation of a separate department. These groups believed that a separate department would be more responsive to public pressures, and would be able to represent education interests more forcefully at the cabinet level. Other education interest groups and many local education agencies (LEAs) were less enthusiastic, believing that a separate department would be too heavily influenced by pressure groups, and would be too much involved in local operations, threatening the prized autonomy of local school districts.

As organized, the Department of Education will include, under various assistant secretaries, the parts of what used to constitute HEW's Education Division, plus a few other components.

In the new department, the program areas formerly administered by the USOE are planned to be assigned to the following program Assistant Secretaries:

- Elementary and Secondary Education: Title I of ESEA, impact aid, emergency school aid, Indian education;
- Higher Education: postsecondary student financial assistance, cultural exchange programs, institutional aid programs;
- Research and Improvement: the National Institute of Education, the National Center for Education Statistics, basic skills, Teacher Corps, teacher centers, other school improvement programs;
- Occupational and Adult Education: vocational education, adult basic education, career education;
- Special Education and Rehabilitation Service: education for handicapped students;
- Non-public Education: elementary and secondary schools not directly supported by public funds, including church-related institutions.

The activities of the department that are not concerned with the sectors of education special interests, but which cover day-to-day department policy and operations, will be assigned to a set of staff Assistant Secretaries for:

- Administration and Management: accounting, payroll, data processing support, space allocation and office facilities, etc.; personnel functions; program evaluation;
- Budgeting and Planning: budget preparation, negotiation, and monitoring; long and shortrange planning; policy analysis;
- Legislative Affairs: preparation and coordination of legislative proposals, legislative liaison with Congress;
- Public Affairs: external relations with press and public;
- Civil Rights: enforcement of compliance in education programs with civil rights.

There are also an Executive Secretariat to manage immediate Office of the Secretary functions, correspondence control, etc., an Inspector General, and a General Counsel to provide legal services to the department and manage regulations processes.

It is impossible at this writing to predict what effects the new organization will have on the programs discussed in this report. It is not expected that the major changes will occur at an early date, because in most instances, entire programs and their current staffs are placed, intact, into the department niche that seems most suitable. More extensive changes, to the extent they are made, will occur later.

43. Advisory Groups. There are a number of groups that advise elements of the Department of Education. These advisory bodies have been established by legislation, Executive Order, or administrative authority. Members, whose numbers range from nine to twenty-five, are appointed either by the President or the Secretary. The advisory committees are intended to provide an avenue for citizen contributions to the policy process. Every effort is made to assure that they are broadly representative of the American population with respect to sex, race, geography, expertise, and point of view.

With the major exception of the Intergovernmental Advisory Committee on Education which was created by the legislation that created the new department, each advisory committee operates solely in relation to a single educational program authorized by the Congress and carried out by the Education Department. The functions, designated by statute or charter, vary from committee to committee, but generally include : (1) advising on general policy matters concerning the program, (2) making recommendations on the regulations for carrying it out, (3) reviewing administration of the program, and (4) recommending changes in the program's legislation. Other duties which committees may undertake, as directed by law or charter are: (1) developing criteria for the issuance of grants and contracts under the programs, (2) reviewing and making recommendations on grant applications, (3) preparing special reports such as evaluations of the previous year's program and (4) providing technical assistance to applicants or to advisory committees at the State or local level. Those committees which make legislative recommendations are often called upon to testify before the U.S. Congress as well as make written reports.

Each advisory committee is required to meet at least twice a year, but most meet four or five times, with a few holding up to ten sessions a year. All committees prepare an annual report describing their activities and recommendations of the previous calendar year. These reports are assembled by the Education Department and submitted to the U.S. Congress.

The need for each of the advisory committees is reviewed at least once a year by the Executive Branch and periodically by the Congress, during reauthorization hearings. As new education programs are authorized, committees may be added, while those no longer needed are abolished.

44. State and Local Educational Structures. Singly and in associations, State and local education agencies constitute another major influence on policymaking at the Federal level. Thus, for example, a Chief State School Officer (the top education official within a State) may testify on his own account on a proposed bill or may be involved in the testimony of his national organization--the Council of Chief State Officers. Similarly, State and local School Boards have formed national organizations, as have various private school interests, different levels of postsecondary institutions and common interest groups like the Council of The Great City Schools, or the Council for Exceptional Children, which have a narrower focus.

45. Education Organizations and the Public at Large. A large number of education interest groups influence the making and refinement of education policy at the Federal level. These groups include professional organizations of teachers, administrators, etc., as well as organizations of parents

or other interested parties. They and the public at large interact with both the Executive Branch and the Congress in the formulation of new legislation, in the reauthorization of existing legislation, in the issuance of regulations, and in other areas of operational policy. In all of these processes there are opportunities for organizations as well as individuals to offer testimony or comment.

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE--1954 TO THE PRESENT 45.

46. In the United States, the past quarter century has been a time of extensive social reform focused on equal rights and opportunities in the society. The period was characterized by three stages:

- A growing sensitivity to disparities and inequalities in the society and the problems of coping with rapid social, economic, and demographic changes after World War II;
- A series of rapidly enacted social reform measures that reflected popular, political, and academic consensus;
- A time of popular uncertainty, scholarly disagreement, and political retrenchment concerning the reform measures, resulting in a more conservative approach to policy changes.

47. Many of the reform measures of the period were designed to increase equality of educational opportunity for all citizens. Education was viewed as an instrument for achieving other social objectives and thus was intertwined with the development of other social policies, including housing, health care, and employment.

48. The massive rush of education legislation in the mid-1960s was the product of many social and educational forces. There were demographic and financial pressures on the schools to absorb the increases of the "baby boom" and to keep pace with a burgeoning economy. There were social pressures to eliminate racial injustice and disparities in the education system. There were questions about the overall quality of education in the U.S. There was a growing concern for the economic and social consequences of the

inadequate educational experience of poor children and youth. Taken alone, any one of these factors would have significantly influenced American education. Together, they produced a rush of change, one result of which was a dramatic increase in Federal involvement in U.S. education.

49. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka case constituted a major catalyst in altering the Federal role and the patterns of educational opportunity in the U.S.[4] The period 1953-54 has been selected as the starting point for this brief review of the development of Federal policies for education of the disadvantaged, in response to demographic, economic and social pressures.

Demographic Pressures

50. The rapid increase in the numbers of school-age children following the end of World War II and the fact that children were staying in school longer foreshadowed major changes in U.S. education. In the period between 1954 and 1964, enrollment in elementary and secondary day schools (public and nonpublic) increased from 33.9 million to 47.7 million. [5]

51. The percentage of the school-age population 5-17 years of age that was enrolled in public and private schools reached 91.6 in 1954. In the age group 6-13 years, the percentage was 99.1, indicating that lower enrollment rates were at the upper and lower ends of the group aged 5-17 years old enrolled in schools had grown to 94.7 percent.[6]

52. The percentage and number of graduates from high school also increased markedly over the ten-year period. In 1954 approximately 60 percent of 17 year-olds completed high school. By 1964 this percentage had increased to 76.3 percent. During the decade, the number of graduates from high school increased from about 1.3 million to 2.29 million in school year 1964-65.[7]

53. The number and percentage of the population 18-24 years old who were enrolled in institutions of higher education also increased dramatically from 1954 to 1964, rising from approximately 2.45 million, or 16.2 percent, to 4.95 million, or 26.4 percent. The number of earned degrees conferred by institutions of higher education almost doubled from 1954 to 1964, with percentage increases almost identical for Bachelor's, Master's, and Doctorate levels.[8]

Economic Pressures

54. The rapid increase in school enrollment placed an increasingly heavy financial burden on educational institutions during the mid-1950s. Overall expenditures for education rose from $13.9 billion in 1953 to $36 billion in 1963.[9] As a percentage of the Gross National Product, total expenditures rose from 3.8 percent in 1963 to 6.1 percent in 1963.[10] Classroom teacher average annual salaries rose from $4,055 in 1955-56 to $6,485 in 1965-66. In addition, inflation and the decrease of the value of the dollar imposed special burdens on schools as they were forced to compete for teachers, school administrators, and maintenance personnel, who by this time had begun demanding more competitive salaries in relation to other sectors. The average per pupil expenditure nationwide increased from $265 in 1953-54 to $460 in 1963-64.[11] State and local authorities responded to this pressure admirably. They raised the level of revenue receipts from an estimated $7.5 billion in 1953-54 to approximately $20 billion in 1964.[12] Increasing tax pressure at the local level, however, began to force a gradual shift in the relative Federal, State, and local contributions to financing education.

55. As late as 1944 roughly 65.6 percent of revenue receipts for education had been derived from local sources. At that time only about 1.4 percent of funds came from Federal sources, and the States accounted for the remainder. The tax on real property, the major source of revenue receipts for a long period of history, was generally levied by local authorities. The trend in the 1950s was toward less reliance on local property taxes for educational financing and toward greater reliance on the more versatile taxing authorities of Federal and State governments, which could levy taxes on other sources of wealth such as personal income, and enact sales, corporate, inheritance, and gasoline taxes. The Federal government by 1961 was generating revenue growth that amounted to over $6 billion a year. On the other hand, State and local governments were experiencing more restrictions on their ability to raise and allocate greater sums for education. It seemed, therefore, that the logical source of additional funds was the Federal government.

Social Pressures

56. Society changed dramatically following World War II. There were several forces leading to demands for social change after the return to a peacetime economy. They

included pressures to complete the desegregation begun in wartime, a demand for education reforms, and newly-awakened recognition that poverty did not have to be widespread in a growing economy.

57. Pressures for Desegregation. Although the civil rights movement was still in its initial stages at the time of the decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, the national will to eliminate segregation of the races gained significant momentum in the decade 1954-64. The public schools were one of the most visible areas for civil rights actions.

58. Federal judicial involvement with education issues has passed through three distinct stages since the late 18th century. Both Federal and State courts had exhibited a laissez faire attitude toward education matters from 1790 to about 1850. For approximately the next hundred years, the view that education was exclusively a State and local matter was underscored by State courts, whose involvement grew substantially. Federal courts did little in education during this period, and, with the exception of the landmark 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson case that upheld the notion of "separate but equal" facilities for different races in public transportation (and by implication, schools),the U.S. Supreme Court had little to say about the conduct of the nation's schools.[13]

59. Beginning in the 1950s, however, Federal courts began a new period of involvement that continues today. The 1954 decision in Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka took the first major step in asserting this new role by striking down the earlier concept of "separate but equal" schooling. Since then, the number of cases heard by Federal courts, including the U.S. Supreme Court, has grown substantially and the number of cases presented to State courts has declined.[14] The courts began to intervene in matters relating to administration, organization, and programs of the schools. Moreover, by issuing mandates, setting schedules for compliance and so forth, a court would often retain jurisdiction over the school system involved in a case until the court's orders had been fulfilled. The basis for this change of roles that began in the 1950s was the shift in emphasis to Constitutional issues. Cases have more and more been based on questions of the constitutionality of State or Federal statutes, and on questions of infringement of constitutionally protected rights, largely as a result of reinterpretations of the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

60. Thus, throughout the period 1954 to 1964, the growing concern of the Federal courts affected not only the Federal/State/local balance in education, but also stimulated a growing consciousness of equality of educational opportunity as a national issue. An important 20 consequence of the 1954 decision was the visibility that it gave to the lack of equality between white and black citizens.

61. Demand for Quality. After World War II, schools were pressed to respond to political events and the very rapid growth in technology, the economy, and production and distribution of information. Even before the significant technological achievement of the Soviet Sputnik, there were mounting calls for correcting the perceived inadequacies of America's schools. More adult Americans were better educated than in previous generations, and they in turn were demanding higher quality education for their children.

62. Sputnik lent urgency to the increasing demands on the educational structure to produce more engineers and specialists for industry's technological expansion. Backing up this movement was increasing knowledge about learning, gleaned from research in the social and behavioral sciences. Particularly for school science and mathematics, there were accelerated development of advanced materials, experimental courses, curricular innovations, and new patterns of classroom management and teaching techniques. Attention was also focused on the adequacy of teacher training--both in its content and in the level of resources devoted to it.

63. The National Defense Education Act in 1958 provided Federal funds to both secondary and higher educational institutions to promote those aspects of the curriculum and educational process that seemed most directly related to the national defense: science, engineering, and foreign languages and area studies. The theme of these efforts at reform was improvement in the quality of schooling, particularly for the most promising of American youth. The reformers emphasized excellence, competition, and challenging the most promising students.

64. Poverty in the United States. The end of World War II was the beginning of a sustained period of economic growth in the United States. In a period of overall national prosperity, it was difficult for the country to focus on the persistence of poverty and unemployment, especially in the light of a consistent decline of approximately 1 percent per year (from 1947 to 1956) in the proportion of families with a total family income of less than $3,000.[15] But this decrease in poverty slowed substantially between 1956 and 1958. A variety of reports, studies, and exhortations from economists, legislators, and others had pointed to the problem as early as 1955. However, the political force to attack the problem did not fully mature until the mid-1960s.

65. Early assessments of the problem were reported in materials presented at hearings of the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress and a Special Senate Committee on unemployment.[16] Another important force in bringing the problem to the public's attention was the publication in 1958 of The Affluent Society by John Kenneth Galbraith. His book was followed during the decade by such other scholarly works as "The Other America," by Michael Harrington, "Our Invisible Poor," by Dwight MacDonald, statistical analyses by Robert Lampman, and others. The nation gradually was made aware of the extent and nature of poverty in the Unites States.

66. To describe the phenomenon of poverty in an affluent society, Galbraith distinguished among case poverty, insular poverty, and mass poverty. Mass poverty is experienced by large segments of the population, as around the turn of the century and during the Great Depression; this was not the type of poverty discussed in the United States in the 1950s. More significant for that time were insular povery which afflicts a sector of the population because of such changes in the economy as decline in a particular industry, technological reform, or the agricultural conditions of a region and case povery in which particular characteristics of individuals or groups prevent their full participation in general prosperity. Conditions typical of case poverty would be poor health, inadequate education or job skills, or racial minority status. These distinctions point up the difficulties that the nation has experienced in attempting to define "poverty" in the United States, particularly for purposes of identifying the target populations of the government programs designed to help those in financial need.

67. Until the mid-1960s, there was no official government standard for judging a family to be poor in the U.S. In its Annual Report in 1964, the Council of Economic Advisors (CEA) used as a standard for poverty a family income of less than $3,000 for two or more family members, or $1,500 for a person living alone. This standard was based on a Social Security Administration study which estimated that a nonfarm family of four would require a $3,165 annual income to sustain an adequate nutritional level.

68. By this standard, the CEA estimated that 9 million families, or 20 percent of all families in the United States, were poor in 1962. This group comprised 30 million persons, of whom 11 million were children. The CEA went on to estimate that 5.4 million large families, including approximately 1 million children, were living on incomes of less than $2,000 a year.

69. Criticism and debate immediately surrounded this poverty standard.[17] The primary issues were the CEA's use of the same income level to define poverty for all families of two or more, not differentiating by family size, composition, or place of residence. Critics observed that different methods of analysis gave a different picture of who was poor. By applying other standards, for example, Rose Difriedman estimated that the percent of farm families counted as poor dropped from the CEA estimate of 15 percent to 9 percent. In 1965 the Department of HEW issued new estimates of the extent of poverty, adjusting for size of family, age of family head, place of residence, and other factors. Poverty, on this sliding scale, began at $1,000 for an elderly person living alone, and $5,000 for a seven-person family. Using these new measures, HEW estimated that there were 34.5 million persons living in poverty in 1963. Of this number, approximately 15 million were children.

70. In 1963, accelerated recognition of the extent of poverty in the United States began to make it a policy issue that would result in government action to correct the inequities. It was in May 1963, following a report to President Kennedy from the Council of Economic Advisors on the current ineffectiveness of social welfare legislation, that internal policy discussions of the poverty issue began to mount.

71. Different perceptions of the nature of poverty have shaped the development of strategy and public policy for dealing with the problem. Poverty may be viewed in terms of economic needs, such as growth and income maintenance, by the economist; or in terms of the psychological effects of relative poverty when viewed by the sociologist or psychologist. The dominant perception of the problem helps determine the remedies proposed. During periods of mass poverty in the United States, the principal strategy of Federal intervention was social reform. Around the turn of the century, this meant the regulation of housing, public health, working conditions, etc. During the worldwide economic depression of the thirties, income maintenance programs helped alleviate the distress of the poor and, by enhancing their purchasing power, helped to revitalize the economy. The notion of policymakers in attacking the poverty of the '50s and '60s was to provide rehabilitation and break the chain of poverty handed down through the generations. The new strategy attempted to get at the roots of poverty and, by destroying them, to eliminate poverty in the United States. In pursuit of these goals, education and training were destined to play a key role.

The Power of Education

72. A critical factor in the development of policies for the education of the disadvantaged has been the belief that education could be a powerful instrument for improving the lot of the poor. In large part, this belief rested on an economic theory--or, at least, on the popularized version of the theory. It also reflected the conviction of many educational psychologists that instruction could do much to remedy the problems that children brought to school with them.

73. The economists' theory of human capital can be simplified to state that individuals can improve their life chances by investing time and money in their own education, thereby acquiring the skills that will result in higher wages. "If we accept the assumption that the wage a person is paid is equal to his marginal product (his contribution to output), then it follows that the increased productivity derived from investing in education will have a positive effect on his earnings."[18] This human-capital theory has had many adherents who have attempted to demonstrate and quantify the relationship among educational investments, productivity, and income payoff.[19] There are also dissenters, some of whom argue that education serves more as a gatekeeping mechanism that bestows credentials on an elite, or a socializing force that instills compliant habits in a work force, than as a real contributor to productivity.[20] Popular opinion has tended to hold, though, as Henry Aaron puts it: "Increase education, and you increase productivity; increase productivity, and you increase earnings."[21] In line with human-capital theory, education programs for the disadvantaged have aimed to equalize the distribution of opportunities to invest in one's skills; in addition, they have aimed to increase the socially productive use of the talents of poor people.

74. Educational psychology, like economics, contributed to a belief that this country could and should do something about the education of the disadvantaged. Although some psychologists argued that heredity played a large role in determining school performance, others maintained that environment--including school programs--could be at least as important. Reviewing this literature, Edmund Gordon observes: "In general, the data lead one to conclude that, as measured by standardized tests, significant changes in the quality of intellectual function are more likely to occur to the extent that there are powerful positive changes in environmental interactions, and that these changes occur early in the life of the individual."[22]

75. Toward the end of the decade, however, there was growing attention to the fact that conventional educational programs were not serving adequately the needs of certain segments of the school-age population, especially those who were identified as culturally deprived or educationally disadvantaged. The response to this growing awareness was sporadic and was largely generated out of concern with the special problems of urban schools.

76. Experimental programs in several urban and certain other large school systems were to provide some background and rationale for later development of Federal programs. For example, as early as the late 1940s, a project was initiated for youth in New York City's Harlem to attack the problems of education for the disadvantaged. In 1956, the Democratic Guidance Project of Junior High School 43 was initiated in New York City for the purpose of "...early identification and stimulation of able students from low socioeconomic status homes." This program later developed into a city-wide program called Higher Horizons. In 1963, a nationwide study of existing educational programs for the disadvantaged was initiated by the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students. The study, funded through a foundation grant and the College Entrance Examination Board, examined the status, theoretical and programmatic bases, and major trends in these programs.

PROGRAMS OF THE MID-1960s

77. In 1964 and 1965, the United States experienced a flood of new social legislation. President Lyndon Johnson, skilled in shaping Congressional consensus and, after the 1964 election, enjoying a very strong popular mandate for his presidency, undertook the sweeping reforms collectively known as the Great Socity. Activism, not cautious experimentation, was the order of the day. Doris Kearns observes, "Johnson felt that it was necessary to act swiftly, since he could not know how long his consensus would last. The speed with which he sought to define and prescribe for all the deficiences of a society that was changing in unknown ways shaped both the substance and the style of the Great Society. In addition, it produced a politics of haste."[23] Programs were swept to enactment on a tide of idealism. When Johnson announced his "war on poverty," he told Congress, "This program is much more than a beginning. It is a total commitment by this President and this Congress and this nation to pursue victory over the most ancient of mankind's enemies."24/ This spirit animated the new programs.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

78. Breaking new ground with its guarantees of equal access to public accommodations and equal employment opportunity, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 also had important consequences for the public schools. Title VI of the Act forbade Federal assistance to segregated schools, thus clearing away an issue that had always helped defeat proposals for expanding Federal education aid. The new law authorized the Attorney General to file suit for school desegregation, and its Title IV authorized the Office of Education to provide technical assistance, training, and funds to school districts that were desegregating.

The Economic Opportunity Act

79. The cornerstone of the war on poverty was the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act (EOA). Among the many programs it authorized were intensive efforts to train, counsel, and find work for unemployed youths under the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps; a rural assistance program that helped provide migrant workers with housing, sanitation, daycare, and education; and the "domestic Peace Corps," Vista (Volunteers in Service to America). Programs soon delegated to HEW were the adult basic education effort and a work-study program. Much of the new activity authorized by this act would be carried out by special local agencies established under the Community Action Program. An early favorite of these agencies was Head Start, originally a summer preschool program for disadvantaged children and soon expanded to a full-year effort. Another educational program that grew rapidly was Upward Bound, which provided special academic services to low-income students who were going on to college; it, too, started as a summer pilot program and by 1966 expanded to a full-year effort.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act

80. Federal aid to education on a massive scale began with the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Title I of that act authorized Federal funds to meet the special needs of "educationally deprived" students in areas with concentrations of poverty; the funds went to 95 percent of the nation's counties. The act also supported school districts' purchases of library materials, textbooks, and other instructional materials. Innovation and improvement were to be promoted through grants for local supplementary

or exemplary programs that would differ from the schools' ordinary practices. Also aimed at improvement was the authority for research, development, dissemination, and research training; centers of research and development and new regional educational laboratories would conduct these activities. Finally, ESEA authorized grants to State departments of education to strengthen those agencies and enable them to identify and meet State needs.

The Higher Education Act

81. After launching ESEA, the Federal government also extended its scope for action in higher education with the 1965 Higher Education Act. For the first time, Federal scholarships through the Educational Opportunity Grant Program would be awarded to undergraduates with financial need. The act also authorized the Guaranteed Student Loan Program, under which a Federal loan guarantee would enable middle-income students to finance their postsecondary education with loans from banks and other private lenders. Finally, it expanded the already existing National Defense Student Loan Program. Institutional aid was authorized to improve library resources, classroom equipment and facilities, and teacher training. A special program of institutional aid would go to "developing institutions," by which was meant at the time the traditionally black colleges and other small, private colleges. Finally, Federal graduate fellowships would go to teachers and those in educationrelated professions, and schools with concentrations of poor children.

Early Program Starts

82. Start-up stages of all these programs were marked by the fervor of a crusade against poverty--and the chaos of introducing new purposes and activities into existing and new bureaucracies.[25] New staff had to be recruited and put to work in existing agencies like the Office of Education. The Office of Economic Opportunity had to be newly created, as did its network of local Community Action Agencies. But animating these early efforts, in spite of the difficulties, was a conviction that education and other social programs would make a difference. The power of education to correct social ills was a key tenet of this early period. However, research and evaluation reports, specicfically two major works issued in 1966 and 1972, led to a reassessment of the early optimism.

83. The Coleman Report. In the early days of developing policy on the education of the disadvantaged, it was commonly assumed that the materials-poor and personnel-poor schools in poor and minority isolated neighborhoods would provide inferior educational opportunity for the children attending them. If the schools serving poor or minority children suffered from poorly trained teachers, lack of equipment and laboratories, fewer books in libraries, fewer textbooks, etc., the children attending them seemed unlikely to learn as much as children in "better" schools. The notion that such educational "inputs" determined educational "outputs' was prominent in the climate of opinion of the early 1960s. Many educators and government policymakers believed that, by equalizing the resources in schools, we could equalize the educational achievement of the disadvantaged.

84. A seminal report published in 1966 shook this notion. Equality of Educational Opportunity, by James S. Coleman and colleagues, based upon statistical analysis of survey data, produced disturbing conclusions.[26] The report had been expected, among other things, to document for the first time the resource inequalities in schools serving various racial and ethnic groups. In fact, however, the Report concluded that although there were some differences in resources, the differences were less than generally expected. Another conclusion was that the socioeconomic status of peers and family background characteristics appeared to have more to do with performance on standardized tests than did the measurable characteristics of schools. Together, these results challenged the basic assumption that more resources for minority schools would solve many of the equality problems faced by minorities, blacks in particular. Further, one implication of these findings was that educators and policymakers might not be able to accomplish much simply by the provision of direct inschool services.

85. The Coleman Report was attacked, challenged, and supported from many angles.[27] Embodying the largest collection of data available to educators at the time, it came to be recognized as a landmark in the literature of U.S. social science research. The implication of the report--that schools do not make a significant difference in reducing disparities among socioeconomic status (SES) groups--was ironically bolstered in its influence even by the amount of negative attention it

received from critics. School resources in particular appeared to be without real significance in the production of achievement outcomes. The report also signaled a shift in basic notions regarding appropriate measures of equality of education opportunity--away from measuring resources invested and toward greater concern with the outcomes of schooling. School resources might have to prove their value; as Coleman observed, "equality of output is not so much determined by equality of the resource inputs, but by the power of these resources in bringing about achievement."[28]

86. Inequality. Another event of major importance to the climate of public opinion was the publication in 1972 of a report by Christopher Jencks et al. of Harvard University entitled Inequality: A Reassessment of Family and Schooling in America. This book analyzed efforts to attain equality and measured the results in terms of adult socioeconomic status. The analysis challenged the notion that the 1960s' reforms were aimed at eliminating inequality per se. Instead the report asserted these reforms were more concerned with equalizing the rules by which individuals succeed or fail in the society, and at eliminating extreme deprivation.[29] Inequality also analyzed enormous amounts of data on the degree of influence certain factors have on adult income and occupational status. According to the findings of this study, educational resources were only weakly related to achievement in school, and success was only weakly related to eventual income and occupational status.

87. This work discouraged some scholars who had argued for educational programs as weapons against poverty. It also contributed to a nebulous but perceptible social mood opposing expensive social programs, especially programs for the schools.

NEWER PROGRAMS

88. The dampening of enthusiam associated with the Coleman Report, early difficulties with programs, and Inequality did not prevent the Federal government from launching several new efforts to help the disadvantaged through education. In comparison with the zeal of the mid-1960s, the new programs broke less new ground. Nevertheless, they continued to support the extension of basic educational rights and extra services to the disadvantaged.

The Vocational Education Amendments

89. Since 1963, the Vocational Education Act had supported training related to employment opportunities, and it had included language about youths with special needs, including socioeconomic handicaps. The 1968 amendments to this act strengthened its emphasis on the disadvantaged. Fifteen percent of the program's funds were set aside for services to youngsters with academic or socioeconomic handicaps, and more funds could be separately allocated for their vocational education. States gained new flexibility to target the Federal vocational education funds to poor areas. A new structure of State Advisory Committees increased public participation in planning and evaluating programs.

The Emergency School Aid Act

90. Enacted in 1972, the Emergency School Aid Act was an effort to help school districts that were undergoing desegregation. With the bulk of the funds directed by formula to the South, the act would provide the most support to districts eliminating *de jure* segregation. It authorized such activities as staff training and community relations efforts in support of both voluntary and court-ordered desegregation. In addition, it sponsored compensatory education for children who were at an educational disadvantage because of the adverse effects of minority-group isolation.

The Indian Education Act

91. Also in 1972, the Indian Education Act authorized the Office of Education to assist elementary and secondary schools in meeting the special needs of Native American children. It provided support for the planning and operation of programs for these children, with as much as 10 percent of the funds available for grants to Indian-controlled schools on or near reservations. It also authorized special demonstration programs, services in education-related areas like guidance and health, training for school personnel, and evaluation and dissemination.

Higher Education Amendments

92. Since the Higher Education Act became law in 1965, Congress has added various programs to extend educational opportunity. In 1968 a new program of Special Services for Disadvantaged Students funded special instructional services

for such students whose academic promise was not being realized in postsecondary institutions. Educational Opportunity Centers, authorized in 1972, would serve areas of potential college students and those enrolled in college. A major provision of the 1972 amendments was the establishment of programs to expand access to postsecondary education. The major program established then was the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants--financial assistance of as much as $1,400 per year for any college student in good standing whose family qualified for that much help to meet college costs. The 1972 amendments also recognized an expanded State role with the State Student Incentive Grants, which would award matching funds to State programs of student financial aid.

Bilingual Education

93. Programs in bilingual education were first authorized in the 1968 amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Grants were made to local school districts to establish and operate demonstration programs at all educational levels for student of limited English-speaking ability. Other recipients of funds provide training and technical assistance, develop and disseminate materials, conduct research. Bilingual education has also been promoted by joint efforts of the Office of Education and HEW's Office for Civil Rights in response to the U.S. Supreme Court's 1974 decision in Lau v. Nichols. This decision obliges districts to make affirmative efforts to provide English instruction and assure equal educational opportunity to children whose dominant language is not English.[30]

The Education for All Handicapped Children Act

94. In 1975, Congress took a major step in the education of the handicapped with new legislation which sought to assure that a "free, appropriate public education" would be made available to all such children. States and districts must meet a number of procedural requirements, including parent involvement and the development of an individualized education program (IEP) for each handicapped child. If States comply with these requirements, they receive a certain amount of Federal money for each handicapped child they serve. Other previously enacted parts of this law authorize research, development, demonstration, and dissemination related to the education of the handicapped; training for special-education personnel and regular classroom teachers; and program evaluation.

General Themes of the 1970s

95. In these disparate programs, some common themes recur. Congress has extended the definition of the disadvantaged to include specific new groups--often those who have gained special recognition from the Federal courts. The bilingual and handicapped programs have both received considerable impetus from Federal court rulings. Even if there were no special Federal education programs for these students, States and districts would be required to serve them as a matter of constitutional right.

96. The newer programs tend to rely more on the States as partners, as in vocational education and the education of the handicapped. And they enlist the help of parents and community groups as planners and advisors to the schools in bilingual education, desegregation, and other programs. The Federal government, in other words, is recognizing that it cannot single-handedly enforce equal educational opportunity --but that the achievement of equal opportunity necessarily involves a cooperative effort by all the major parties in the educational enterprise.

THE CURRENT CLIMATE FOR PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION

97. The public commitment to equalizing educational opportunity is real and will continue. Major efforts at this point are being directed to the more effective implementation of existing programs. This emphasis reflects a longstanding desire to complete the agenda of the 1950s and 60s, as well as the more recent "back to the basics" trend in education. The partnership approach is being strengthened in recognition of the powerful role that State and local education agencies have to play in making programs work.

Program Reform in the Early 1970s

98. As early as the beginning of Richard Nixon's first term as president, Federal officials wondered whether a massive overhaul of social programs might be necessary. One factor, of course, was political opposition to programs that were strongly identified with the previous Democratic administration. However, the depressing results of early program evaluations contributed to a bipartisan feeling that something had to be done. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who was Nixon's key advisor on education, wrote in 1970 about the need for more measurable advances in student

achievement: "The test of a program, when this program is part of a policy, is not input but output ... the crucial question is how much do the children learn? Programs are for people, not for bureaucracies."[31]

99. Instead of a five-year extension of ESEA, the Republican administration in 1969 requested a two-year extension to allow for a program reappraisal. The failings of recent programs, in the administration's view, could be attributed to insufficient knowledge about learning and about the effects of school practices. It seemed that the educational knowledge base should be strengthened through more systematic research and development. Thus the administration proposed the establishment of the National Institute of Education. At the same time, the large grant programs would be limited, decentralized, or eliminated under the "New Federalism." This policy would give the States much more control over the use of Federal funds: categorical restrictions that directed money to specific groups, individuals, areas, or purposes would be eased or abolished.

100. Congress, controlled by the Democrats, and the various interest groups served by the categorical programs resisted the New Federalism in education. The attempt of the Republican administration to bring about massive program consolidation was not successful. The categorical programs survived, although in a climate of considerably tempered optimism.

"Back to Basics"

101. Public optimism about the schools' effectiveness has continued to erode. In the early 1970s, the College Entrance Examination Board announced that scores on its Scholastic Aptitude Test were declining. Similar reports of declining scores in the upper grade levels were issued from other credible national sources such as the National Assessment of Educational Progress. While scores for children in grades 1-4 have shown slight increases, the implication of the upper grade scores was that schools in general were not doing the job. There has been considerable public debate over the meaning and causes of the apparent declines and whether or not they actually signal a change in quality in the schools. Part of the explanation seems to be the success of policies aimed at keeping students with lower aptitude and skills in school. Such students, who once would have dropped out, are remaining in school and tend to lower the average scores.

102. One widespread reaction to the reports of score decline is the cry, "back to the basics." Many people urge a return to concentration on basic skills in reading, language arts, and computation. As a reflection of these concerns, many States have recently established basic, statewide standards of competency that students must reach in order to obtain high school diplomas. The Federal government has also reacted to this trend by including in the recent reauthorization of ESEA (Education Amendments of 1978) a program for Basic Skills Improvement (Title II). This new program, which replaces the National Reading Improvement Program, will provide funds for projects to involve parents in working with the schools and in helping their children achieve basic skills mastery, improve the use of radio, television, and other technology, and other activities.

Program Implementation in the Late 1970s

103. More than a decade of experience with programs for the disadvantaged has taught us some specific lessons. It is increasingly clear that effective programs cannot be mandated in any simple way; time and care are required for results. No one curriculum or instructional technique has demonstrated its unique effectiveness for all children in all schools. If one or another approach has succeeded in one place, there is no guarantee that it will produce equally good results if replicated elsewhere.

104. Recent research suggests that the way in which particular projects are carried out in individual localities has a great deal to do with the success or failure of a program.[32] New programs can take hold and produce results where there is stable funding, time for implementation, and--most important--commitment from local staff and the community. Children are likely to do best under conditions of strong leadership from the school principal, high expectations for students, student-teacher rapport, small group and individualized instruction, free exchange of ideas among staff, parent involvement, and a clear focus on basic skills throughout the school program. A unified approach to instruction appears to work better than a collection of isolated, special purpose programs, each directed to a discrete group of students.

105. In view of the primary importance of effective local implementation, incremental changes in Federal programs are now being aimed at supporting more planning and more coordination of separate categorical programs at the school level. The States are being encouraged to assume a more active role in pulling programs together and providing technical assistance for their implementation.

106. Indeed, the States have taken initiatives on their own in behalf of education of the disadvantaged. At the time of ESEA's enactment, no State had a special program in compensatory education; now more than a dozen States are supporting such programs with their own funds. Some State legislatures were ahead of the Congress in mandating the education of the handicapped. Federal funds for vocational education are more than matched by the States. In higher education, the States are funding student financial aid and are pressing for a stronger role in coordinating Federal aid programs.

107. As part of the Federal response to this gradually changing Federal/State/local partnership, the Education Amendments of 1978 provide for special incentive grants to States that have or will initiate their own compensatory education programs. Also, the Bill provides for reduced paperwork requirements and expanded authority for States to conduct various compliance activities such as monitoring local Title I projects.

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

108. Over the 25-year period covered by this report, different concepts of equality and fairness were utilized in planning social reforms. In some instances, more than one underlying definition of equality reveals itself in the operations of the various social or educational programs. Evolving views of equality have both mirrored and molded this country's research and program effort for the disadvantaged. Educational philosophies shifted in response to experience, and new philosophies in turn helped redirect program efforts.

109. There were two fundamental and interrelated goals that motivated the development of educational reforms in the 1950s and 1960s: first, to provide every citizen with the best education society had to offer; second, through equal access to high quality education, to provide each individual with increased social and economic freedom. In moving toward these goals, two basic interpretations of educational fairness emerged: that based on equal inputs and on equal outcomes or results.

110. Equal Inputs. In the nineteenth century, certain educational reformers crusaded for their idea of equality by advocating the establishment of some form of common

school; equal inputs would be ensured by "supporting free schools with a common curriculum and educating children of different backgrounds in the same local school."[33]

111. But more recent arguments for equal inputs have focused on disparities in the resources available to children who attend schools in different neighborhoods, communities, or States. Perhaps the most straightforward yardstick for resources is dollar expenditures, and there has been substantial interest recently in equalizing expenditures within States or across States. It is recognized, however, that a dollar does not buy the same amount of educational resources everywhere. Rural-urban and regional living costs and differences in teacher salaries mean that equal expenditures would translate into quite different pupil-teacher ratios in New York City and rural Mississippi. Even the supplementary nature of Federal aid as it now exists does not dispel these disparities. Because most Federal programs are geared to supplement the existing resource base, the uneveness of expenditures, however, measured, continues.

112. Another way to look at equality of inputs is to offer each student free choice among different educational offerings. The purpose here is not to reduce the disparities among schools but rather to see that all students have the same freedom to choose the school or schools that may be appropriate for them. This view is part of the underlying rationale for the Federal role in higher education student financial aid, where programs are designed in pursuit of the ideal that a student's access to the college of his or her choice should be independent of family income. At the elementary-secondary level, this notion of quality is used as an argument in support of vouchers or tuition tax credit plans as a means of providing families with a freer choice among different public and nonpublic schools.

113. *Equal Outcomes*. James Coleman commented in 1968 on the significance of the change to a focus on educational effects: "When that change occurred, as it has in the past few years, the school's responsibility shifted from increasing and distributing equally *its* 'quality' to increasing the quality of its *students'* achievements. This is a notable shift, and one which should have strong consequences for the practice of education in future years."[34] A concern with outcomes dictated that the school system must attend to students' varying capacities and needs if it was to promote justice. As Edmund Gordon put it: "Justice moves beyond a concern for distributive sufficiency. When we speak of distributive sufficiency, we are immediately forced to look to questions of need rather than share."[35]

114. Looking to children's needs has been the major rationale for compensatory education, which provides different and more extensive inputs for groups of children who would be expected to achieve less than their peers in the absence of such inputs. Theoretically, if early compensatory education succeeds, it equips students to continue through life having had an equal start and therefore an equal opportunity. But at what point should compensatory educators declare their work to be finished? In the 1960s, it was hoped that preschool and elementary school programs, such as Head Start and Title I, would give poor children the boost they needed to proceed through school and life equally equipped. However, the evidence thus far indicates that disadvantaged children can be expected to lag increasingly behind their peers as they go through school, even after special programs in the early grades. Thus, if schooling is to produce more nearly equal outcomes, the logic of compensatory education demands that such programs be offered at all grades.

115. One way to attain the criterion of equal outcomes would be to aim at ensuring that groups of children of equal capacity end up with equal educational attainments, regardless of ascribed characteristics like race, sex, or social class. (But measuring capacity is itself a difficult challenge.) A rough approximation to this criterion would guarantee every child not truly incapacitated by an individual handicap some minimal educational credential such as a high-school diploma or a certificate of achievement. Alternatively, one might demand that virtually all children attain minimum skills required for survival in society. In either case, many students could go beyond the minimum, but attainment of the minimum would be required. The result would be that adults emerging from this educational system could compete for eventual economic success according to their abilities, assuming that society at large offered equal opportunities.

116. However, the evidence that society does not offer equal opportunities troubles many advocates of educational equality. In demonstrating that eventual economic success does not critically depend on educational attainments, cognitive skills, school quality, etc., Christopher Jencks and his colleagues have challenged the common view of the validity of striving for equal educational output. In their view, if the controlling goal is to reduce inequalities in income distribution, and if educational remedies have been found limited in this connection, society would appear to be better off seeking other and more direct means of income redistribution.

117. The goal of equal educational outcomes is subject to other criticisms. For example, children with physical or mental handicaps may never be able to attain the skills necessary for equal participation in society. What outcomes should or can be guaranteed for each child? Is every child entitled to some definable level of attainment? Or should educators return to setting some limit on input measures as well as outcomes they can fairly expect in given human situations?

118. Finally, some people argue that equal educational outcomes may lead toward social homogenization. Peter Schrag wrote that important values may be lost if the dominant middle class sets the standards for attainment: "Should we be concerned only with the preparation of economic functionaries and the development of conventional academic skills, or also with the growth of human beings whose dignity is not necessarily dependent on middle-class standards of success?"[36]

119. The issues summarized in this section probably will continue to be matters in controversy among scholars, legislators, educational policymakers and commentators on social policy.

PART TWO

THE COMPENSATORY PROGRAMS

CHAPTER III

PRESCHOOL: THE OVERALL EFFORT

BACKGROUND

120. During the past 15 years several changes have occurred in preschool education in the United States. First, the general availability of publicly funded or required kindergartens has grown markedly. Despite a decrease in the 3- to 5-year-old cohort, substantially more children in this age range are attending preprimary programs than was the case in 1964. Second, it has been recognized in the development of Federal policies for the disadvantaged that policy for providing preschool services in special centers must be considered in conjunction with other United States social policies affecting young children, such as child care and public assistance.

121. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimated in FY 1977 that "... the Federal government then provided preschool assistance of as much as $1 billion annually.[1] This support is provided primarily through tax credits for parents having children in preschool activities and direct aid to operate preschool programs. The tax credit is provided to parents to alleviate the cost of day care or preschool attendance associated with work; it may reach a maximum of a $400 annual credit for one dependent or $800 for two or more dependents. The extent to which the tax credit benefits low-income families is, of course, proportionally greater than for families with higher income levels (because it is a credit on the tax due rather than a deduction from gross income), provided that the earning level of the former is great enough to require tax payment. However, this mechanism does not provide help for those families in greatest need. Therefore, the tax credit, although it benefits many families, is not targeted specifically on the needs of the most disadvantaged. This chapter will focus on the major Federal program designed to support preschool activities, the Head Start Program.

MAJOR PROGRAMS

122. The most targeted forms of assistance for early childhood education in centers operate through two Federal programs, Head Start administered by the Department of Health and Human Services, and Title I, ESEA, administered by the Education Department. These programs serve children of low-income families. Although Title I, ESEA, will be discussed in more

detail later on in this report (Chapter IV), it is important to note that a portion of Title I funds is directed to the needs of preschool children. As with the basic Title I program operating in elementary and secondary schools, eligibility for services is dependent on two criteria. First, funds are allocated to areas within local school districts with concentrations of low-income families. Second, individual participation is based on demonstrated educational need. There are no separate provisions in the law or statute for Title I that pertain only to the preschool level. Adherence to the second of these criteria is especially difficult at the preschool level.

123. All but one of the States reported serving children at the prekindergarten and kindergarten levels with Title I funds in FY 1976. Such participation amounted to about 8 percent of the total population of children served in Title I nationwide. In FY 1977 the prekindergarten and kindergarten percentage dropped to about 7 percent. Descriptive figures on Title I programs for preschool children, such as current funding or numbers of projects, are not available. Neither are precise nationwide data available on the type and extent of services provided to individual preschool children. The reasons for this lack of data probably relate simply to the fact that the overwhelming majority of funds spent, children served, and data collected relate to grades 1-6 in this program. An evaluation study of Title I services to preschool children is currently underway.

THE HEAD START PROGRAM

124. Head Start is the basic Federal program for disadvantaged preschool children. The program is based on the presumption that an early childhood program providing comprehensive child development services could begin to break the poverty cycle at its earliest stages.

125. Project Head Start was officially announced by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) in the winter of 1965. While most OEO programs were intended to provide training, work, and coordinated social services to high poverty communities as a whole, the Head Start program was specifically focused on children. The program was intended to provide comprehensive health, education, and social services to children of poor families to enable them to reach their full potential and readiness for formal schooling. The original intention of OEO was to launch an experimental, eight-week summer program (in 1965) costing around $17 million and serving approximately 100,000 children from poor families.

126. The response to the program by communities throughout the country far exceeded OEO's expectations, and ultimately $96.4 million was committed to serve 561,000 children in Head Start projects during the summer of 1965. The program rapidly established itself as a popular component of the antipoverty policies, and during the first summer of operation the President announced that Project Head Start would be expanded to a year-round program. In its 14-year history, a total of over 6.7 million children have been served by Head Start at a cost of over $5.1 billion.

127. Federal administration of the Head Start program was transferred from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW) in 1969. The program is currently administered by the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families (ACYF) in DHEW (soon to become the Department of Health and Human Services).

128. In the Head Start program, grants are awarded by the Federal government directly to community based public and private organizations, including some public school systems. Although the Office of the Governor in each State has the opportunity to review and approve each project submitted by community organizations within that particular State, the program is a direct Federal-to-local grant program. It is community-based and is operated independent of any State agency.

129. Program Goals. Head Start provides Federal financial assistance to local communities to plan, conduct, administer, and evaluate comprehensive child development projects for preschool children for low-income families. The program aims to increase the social competence of its participants by improving the child's health and physical abilities, encouraging the child's self-confidence, spontaneity and self-discipline, enhancing the child's cognitive and communication skills, establishing expectations for the child's success, increasing the abilities of the child and family to relate to one another, and enhancing the sense of dignity and self-worth in both the child and the family. The program structure is also intended to provide for direct participation of parents in program planning and implementation.

130. In support of its primary goals of providing services to disadvantaged children and mobilizing their parents, the Head Start program funds efforts to improve program quality. These efforts include the development of performance standards, self-assessment tools, career development and training of staff at all levels and in all program areas of Head Start, and the development of demonstration and pilot projects that offer alternative program approaches that local projects might adopt.

131. Program Scope. The total budget for Head Start has grown from $96.4 million in FY 1965 to $625 million in FY 1978. At present, the program is locally administered by 1,350 grantees, in all the States, territories, and outlying areas. Funds for program operations within each State are distributed on the basis of the relative number of public assistance recipients in each State as compared to all States, and the relative number of related children living in families with income below the poverty line.

132. In FY 1977 Head Start provided services to 349,000 children, an estimated 17 percent of the eligible population nationwide. These children were served in 9,400 centers employing about 66,000 professionals and nonprofessionals. The projects were assisted by 95,000 volunteers, including many parents. In FY 1978, 400,500 children were served, representing approximately 21 percent of the eligible population.

133. Project Selection. A unique feature of Head Start is its reliance on the community control of projects. The feature was common to programs established by the Economic Opportunity Act and subsequent war on poverty legislation of the late 1960s. Federal funds were to be received by local community action agencies (CAA), representing the poor. The advantages, disadvantages, merits, and problems of this strategy have been dealt with extensively in the literature analyzing the war on poverty programs. For Head Start, the concept of locally based community control of projects is still intact.

134. Selections of local project grantees are based on judgments about which competing applications provide the most reasonable promise of the applicant's willingness and ability to provide an effective program. These qualities are judged on the cost effectiveness of the proposed project, adequacy of the provisions made for parent participation in the project's planning and implementation, opportunities for employment of target area residents, the applicant's experience in operating community child development services, suitability of facilities, and the applicant's administrative and fiscal capabilities.

135. Local school districts may become grantees, and CAA grantees may also delegate Head Start program responsibilities to these local education agencies (LEAs). Grantees must demonstrate the funds provided under Head Start will not substitute for comparable services previously provided without Federal assistance. This requirement is particularly significant in regard to the growth since 1965 of preschool and kindergarten services provided or required by most States. Head Start adjusts to these conditions by serving only those children below the compulsory school ages.

136. Grantees must match the Federal funding by providing 20 percent of total program costs. The 20 percent match may be in the form of cash or in-kind services, including local provision of facilities, equipment, or services that would not have been provided in the absence of Federal assistance.

137. Selection of Participants. Based on the belief that low-income children are those most in need of development services and least likely to have access to such services, primary consideration for participation in Head Start is given to children of low-income families. Current regulations require that local projects must demonstrate that 90 percent of the children to be served in a project are thus qualified. A child who has been determined eligible maintains that status for the current year and the next year regardless of changes in family income. This provision reflects the belief that an element of continuity is important to the child and the family.

138. Program Services to Children. The goals of Head Start projects are to promote the physical, social, emotional, and intellectual growth and social competence of the participating children. This is to be accomplished through program components which provide "...comprehensive health, nutritional, educational, social and other services as will aid the children to attain their full potential."[2] Program regulations have provided extensive guidance regarding the requirements and standards that each project must meet. Each component is intended to provide a specific element in the performance standards.

- The education services component is to provide children with a learning environment and the varied experiences that will help them develop socially intellectually, physically, and emotionally, including involvement of parents in the educational activities of the program.
- The health services component is to provide a broad range of medical and dental services to preschool children, including preventive health services, early intervention, and linking the family to an ongoing health care system.
- The nutrition services component is to provide food to meet the child's daily nutritional needs and to develop sound food habits which will continue after leaving the program.

- The mental health services component is intended to assist all children participating in the program in emotional, cognitive, and social development by providing children with special needs with the necessary mental health services including early identification, and intervention in problems.

- The social services component is intended to establish and maintain an outreach and recruitment process which systematically ensures enrollment of eligible children; to achieve parent participation in the activities of the center and the home program; to assist the family in its own efforts to improve the quality of family life; and to facilitate parents' use of community services and resources.

139. Parent Participation. A number of program requirements are related to the role of the parents, the home, and the direct involvement of parents in the project. Regulation and guidance materials stress that while project staff must actively encourage parent participation, actual participation by parents is entirely voluntary on their part and cannot be a requirement for enrolling an eligible child in a Head Start project.

140. Head Start projects are intended to involve parents by providing a planned program of experiences and activities which support and enhance the parental role as the principal influence in their child's education and development. To enhance the prospects of success for projects, local staff provide direct services to parents to foster parenting skills. These services might include experiences and activities in support of their own skills, self-confidence, and sense of independence; understanding of child developmental concepts and how to provide educational and developmental activities in the home; health, mental health, dental and nutritional education; identification and use of family and community resources to meet basic life support needs; identification of opportunities for continuing education; and encouragement to discuss and actively be involved with the child's daily development. In addition, the program is intended to provide parents with opportunities for direct involvement in program decision making, and participation in program activities as paid employees, volunteers, or observers.

141. Secondary Services. In addition to services provided directly to participants and parents, the national Head Start staff provides for technical assistance, research, and other support services designed to increase the quality and effectiveness of local projects. These services include a variety of experimental projects intended to develop innovative approaches to providing children's services.

PROGRAM RESULTS

142. The legislation which authorizes Head Start requires the Federal level to provide for continuing evaluation of the program. This is accomplished through a variety of program research contracts and ongoing regional monitoring of local project quality and compliance.

143. Project Evaluations. In addition to annual independent audits of local project operations, each local project is required to form a team, which includes parents, to complete the program Performance Standards Self-Assessment/ Validation Instrument. Training for the self-assessment process is provided to the team. Local program staff as well as the DHEW regional offices together judge each standard for compliance with the requirements presented in the Performance Standards. When complete, the document is delivered to the regional offices of Head Start for staff evaluation. Additionally, each regional office staff is expected to conduct an onsite monitoring of one-third of the region's projects annually at which time the self-assessment instrument is verified.

144. National Program Evaluations. Since 1965, the Federal government has provided funds to conduct national evaluations of summer and full-year Head Start projects. These studies of Head Start have focused on children's personal-social growth, readiness for school, achievement in school, and cognitive development (Dunteman, 1973; Coulson, 1972; Abt, 1978).

145. Reviewing this series of evaluation studies Datta (1979) reports that: "...the effects of Head Start in both regular and experimental programs included statistically reliable growth in pre-academic and cognitive skills, and ...relative to the rate of growth project from maturational or status variables, the effects of Head Start (in terms of school readiness) gave a value added of doubling or trippling the gain over the eight months fall/spring period."[3] The review goes on to state that "...improved performance on measures of reasoning ability is often reported as an immediate effect of Head Start. Post-program IQ scores tend to fall within the normal range. After entry into regular primary schools, Head Start graduates are more likely to keep pace with their class, less likely to be placed in special education program or held back. Follow Through studies are confirming earlier data showing that Head Start graduates enter primary school close to or at national norms on readiness tests. This advantage is maintained during the first year of school."[4] The findings of the Abt study (1978) indicate that black children who are Head Start graduates are academically better

prepared for school than they would have been without the program. Problems in finding an adequate comparison group prevented any conclusions about the program's impact on white children.

146. The most recent national evaluation of Head Start was conducted under a contract to Abt Associates and was completed in March 1978. The Abt study looked into a number of questions concerning the structure and program content of Head State. The study also focused on the transition of Head Start graduates to primary school.

147. In terms of participant characteristics, the Abt study found that the percentage of black and Hispanic children participating in Head Start is twice as high as their representation in the poverty-level population. Sixty percent of children enrolled in Head Start were four years old, with the remainder evenly divided between the three-year-old and five-year-old groups. The median income of the Head Start families in this sample was $6,000 per year, and the mean family size was 5.5 members. Due to differences in counting income and benefits for purposes of participant eligibility and the income report by the sample survey, it was not possible to state specifically whether 90 percent of the participants met the poverty criteria; this study reports that about 70 percent of the participants did meet this criterion. The mean income of participant families and other family background characteristics indicates that the program comes very close to serving the intended population.

148. Most Head Start children in the Abt survey come from homes with two adults in the household, and most of those families indicated at least one adult was employed. About 27 percent of the children come from single-parent households, and in the group of families only 23 percent of the parents reported that they were employed. Slightly more than half of the mothers of Head Start children had completed high school.

149. The centers themselves serve an average of 41.7 children distributed in two or three classrooms each serving an average of 22 children. The survey shows a mean of 7.8 full-time and 6.5 part-time staff and 9.4 volunteers in each center. The ethnic composition of staff relatively equal proportions of black and white staff members. While the majority of Head Start centers are operated under the auspices of community action agencies, the relationship between the centers and public schools is apparently quite strong. The centers make significant use of public school resources and personnel.

150. If on takes the view that the primary value of Head Start should be the durability of positive effects as the child progresses from Head Start through formal schooling,

then the findings of evaluation studies are less clear. The immediate positive effects noted above are well established in the literature and tend to be maintained in the first year of school. Only a few studies have been completed that show positive effects for Head Start participants extending into the second and third grade. A serious problem hampering more precise statments about the durability of Head Start effects is the dearth of empirical data. The findings we do have on long term effects are too tenuous to draw precise conclusions that the center-based, child/parent-focused, short term intervention is of lasting benefit to all participants. Some current studies promise to provide evidence about Head Start s long term effects. Prelminary findings of these studies indicate persistent program effects on cognitive development throughout the primary grades.

151. Summary of Impact. In summary, evidence over the 14-year history of Head Start indicates that the program:

- Is reaching, to a great extent, the target population intended by Congress;
- Is delivering a comprehensive education, health, nutrition, and social service program, with strong emphasis on developing self-esteem and personal-social development (social competence);
- Is meeting most of its own standards for parental involvement in planning and operating projects, in increasing parents' knowledge and self-confidence in their appraoch to the child's development, and in fostering increasing contact and cooperation between home and school;
- Is producing immediate effects on the school readiness, cognitive development, initial school achievement, and personal-social development of participating children;
- May produce durable, long-term effects on children, but more evidence is needed to assess the magnitude of success;
- Is expending a sizeable effort in career development and training of professional staff and volunteers in the local centers;
- Has probably had some impact on local institutional change geared to provide better, more efficient, and sensitive services to low-income families and their children, at least in its early years.

152. A more detailed description of the operation of the Head Start program, including an expanded discussion of the evaluation literature is provided in the appendix.

CHAPTER IV

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

BACKGROUND

153. The struggle for equal educational opportunity in the elementary and secondary schools has constituted a very important part of the major national effort to equalize social opportunity in the United States over the past decade. Correcting the ills of overt racial and economic discrimination, and improving the effectiveness and quality of the public schools were the driving forces that stimulated the development of Federal education policies in the mid-1960s. Those policies resulted in the establishment of numerous programs for the elementary and secondary grades that sought to improve the educational experiences for poor children who, for whatever reason, were not succeeding in school. The development of these policies did not, however, occur along a single, rational, policy development model. Rather, the structure of existing policies evolved through a dynamic process that has involved many individuals, groups, and organizations in the various branches of Federal government, in State and local government, and in the public and private sectors outside government. As needs were perceived, as political and other pressures grew, and demands for governmental action increased, programs were enacted or changed to meet those needs.

154. Federal policies and activities for the disadvantaged at the elementary and secondary level have focused on two major areas:

- promoting equal access to educational opportunity whether through elimination of overt discrimination or through helping individuals to take advantage of what the schools can provide.
- promoting the improvement of the quality of educational offerings, particularly with respect to the special needs of disadvantaged individuals and identifiable minority and special groups.

In keeping with the major focus of this study on policies to promote equal educational opportunity, this review will focus on those programs intended to promote equal access.

MAJOR ACCESS PROGRAMS

155. The following have been preeminent among conditions associated with educational failure in the United States: individual poverty; minority group isolation; limited English language skills; and physical or mental handicap. By providing additional categorical funds for supplementary services to overcome the educational effects of these conditions, the Federal government has sought not only to break the cycle of disadvantage but also to place all American children on an equal footing during the early years of their cognitive and social development. To do this, the Federal effort has encompassed many policies and strategies that have resulted in a variety of programs, often operating independently, to implement those policies.

156. The major elementary and secondary education programs can be grouped loosely on the basis of the concerns to which they are primarily addressed, as follows:

- Economic Deprivation

  Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) (including a component for children of migratory workers)
  Follow Through

- Racial or Minority-Group Isolation

  Emergency School Assistance Act Programs
  Title IV, Civil Rights Act

- Limited English-Language Skills

  Bilingual Education

- Physical or Mental Handicap

  Education of the Handicapped Act programs and other specialized programs for handicapped children

- Native Americans

  Indian Education Act and other specialized programs for American Indians

157. To describe all of these programs in detail falls outside the scope of this review. However, brief summary notes about these major programs provide a useful perspective in assessing a broad range of policies. More complete descriptions of program goals, operations, and impact can be found in the Commissioner's Annual Evaluation Reports, and in the budget justifications for the Office of Education, from which these short statements are taken. Complete references are supplied in the list of sources at the end of the text.

ECONOMIC DEPRIVATION

158. Title I, ESEA, is the program selected as the case study for this age group and is described in detail later in this chapter.

159. Follow Through was first authorized in 1968 to continue comprehensive services through the early elementary grades for children who had participated in Head Start. Follow Through was originally intended to be a large-scale service program; however, the Congress appropriated only $15 million in the first year, and annual appropriations have never exceeded $70.3 million since. In the face of these budget constraints a decision was made to convert this program to a "planned variation" experiment that sought to determine the relative effectiveness of a variety of approaches to compensatory education and comprehensive child development services. The FY 1978 appropriation for Follow Through was $59 million. In FY 1977, there were 116 local projects and 20 models that were sponsored by universities, research institutions, and other organizations.

RACIAL OR MINORITY-GROUP ISOLATION

160. The Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA) was enacted in 1972 to provide local education agencies (LEAs) with financial assistance to:

- meet the special needs incident to the elimination of minority-group segregation and discrimination among students and faculty;

- encourage the voluntary elimination, reduction, or prevention of minority-group isolation in schools with substantial proportions of minority-group students.

161. The statute authorizes a number of subprograms and activities. The major portion of funds are allocated by State apportionment based on the ratio of the number of school-aged minority children located in the State to the number of all such children in all States. Some of the subprograms require within-State competition for funds. The remaining programs and activities, such as establishing magnet schools, provide grants through national competitive applications.

162. The FY 1978 appropriation for ESAA was $300.5 million, most of which went to the State apportionment programs. The Education Amendments of 1978 provide that, beginning in FY 1980, the State apportionment part of the distribution of

funds will be capped at a level of $155 million, thereby allowing additional funds to be more flexibly directed to areas with greatest need for desegregation assistance, particularly the northern cities.

163. Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (CRA) is designed to provide training and technical assistance related to problems incident to school desegregation (including not only racial, but also sex, linguistic, and national origin types of discrimination). These activities are carried out through four types of nationally competitive awards:

(1) General Assistance Centers that provide services to specified geographic regions of the country;

(2) State Education Agency programs and staff who provide technical assistance and training activities;

(3) Local Training Institutes that generally provide training for school personnel;

(4) Local Education Agency advisory specialists who assist in school desegregation.

The FY 1978 appropriation for Title IV, CRA, was $34.7 million.

LIMITED ENGLISH LANGUAGE SKILLS

164. The Bilingual Education program was first authorized in 1968 as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. It is designed to provide equal educational opportunity for children with limited English-language proficiency. Assistance is provided in four ways:

(1) Grants are awarded to LEAs on a nationally competitive basis for the establishment of bilingual education programs in preschool, elementary and secondary school settings, and community-based adult programs. Such awards also encompass local training programs for bilingual education personnel.

(2) Grants are made to centers which provide support services such as training resources, materials development, and dissemination and assessment services.

(3) Grants are made to LEAs, SEAs, and institutions of higher education to conduct training for teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, and parents associated with bilingual education programs. In addition, programs may include training for teacher-trainers and innovative projects. There is also a special fellowship program for educational personnel who will become teacher-trainers.

(4) Grants are made to SEAs to provide technical assistance to LEAs that are operating bilingual education programs.

The FY 1978 appropriation for these activities was $135 million, most of which was awarded directly to LEA programs.

PHYSICAL OR MENTAL HANDICAPS

165. There are several programs authorized under the Education for All Handicapped Children Act. Generally, these programs are designed to meet the following purposes:

- To provide direct services to handicapped individuals;
- To develop and demonstrate new technologies, teaching methods, and materials;
- To train special education personnel; and
- To conduct program evaluation.

166. Prior to enactment of amendments in 1975, the Federal role was to provide funds to stimulate or serve as a catalyst to State and local efforts in improving educational opportunities for the handicapped. The 1975 amendments however, changed the Federal role to one of assuring access to free, appropriate public education for all handicapped children to be provided by the States. Such education is required to be delivered in the least restrictive environment, that is in the regular classroom whenever possible, and requires an individual educational plan for each handicapped child.

167. The total amount appropriated for programs under this Act in FY 1978 was $622 million, most of which was addressed to providing direct services for all handicapped children.

NATIVE AMERICANS

168. Under the Indian Education Act of 1972, grants are made to Indian tribes and organizations and to SEAs and LEAs for use in special programs and projects to improve educational opportunities for Indian children. There are two parts of the Act that are applicable to elementary and secondary children:

(1) Part A of the Indian Education Act provides financial assistance based on a formula to LEAs and non-LEAs for elementary and secondary education programs to meet the special educational needs of Indian and Alaska Native children. In addition, a special provision in the Act allots not more that 10 percent of the amount appropriated for LEAs to Indian controlled schools located on or near reservations.

The primary program goal is simply to raise the per pupil expenditure by an amount sufficient to support significant improvements in the quality and education provided Indian children. The long range program goal is to supplement per pupil expenditures in the amount of $300 by FY 1981, for approximately 375,000 Indian children enrolled in eligible LEAs. Current funding is at about $100 per child. Funds from these grants are also used to provide teachers and teacher aides in the basic skill areas of reading and mathematics; new supportive services, including home liaison and guidance and counseling services; and bilingual/bicultural activities.

(2) Under Part B, nationally competitive grants are awarded for the purposes of (a) supporting planning, pilot, and demonstration projects for improving educational opportunities for Indian children; (b) assisting in the establishment and operation of programs to stimulate the provision of educational services not available to Indian children in sufficient quantity or quality; (c) assisting in the establishment of preserve and inservice training programs to improve the qualifications of persons serving Indian children, such as teachers, teacher aides, social workers, and other educational personnel; and (d) encouraging the dissemination of information and materials concerning educational programs, services, and resources available to Indian children, and evaluation of the effectiveness of these programs.

The FY 1978 appropriation for Part A was $38.85 million, and the level for Part B was $14.4 million.

SUMMARY

169. By far the most important policy approach in all these programs has been compensatory education, although a comprehensive service approach is included in many of the authorized activities. Basically, however, these programs seek to provide special instructional help and services to help the disadvantaged make full use of the education system, to narrow and eliminate the achievement gap between the disadvantaged child and his middle-class peers, and to help these children become equal competitors in the formal educational process. It is thought that through this means -- early intervention in the learning process -- the long term life situations of those who begin school under disadvantaged circumstances will ultimately be improved. Because it is the largest of the programs that provide compensatory education, Title I, ESEA, has been selected as the case study for this chapter.

TITLE I -- A SUMMARY CASE STUDY

CAPSULE DESCRIPTION

170. Title I is perhaps the single most important education program designed to equalize educational opportunity in the United States. Passed by the Congress in 1965, many social planners saw it as an "implement of change" for breaking the cycle of poverty. The compensatory education concept stems from the recognition that children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds are caught in a cycle of poverty which is associated with low achievement in school. Often these children attend schools in districts having low overall revenues or ones where there are high concentrations of disadvantaged families. In these low-income areas, the schools operate under financial constraints which not only adversely affect the general development of pupils, but which also prevent the funding of the extra services they need. Compensatory education programs such as Title I embody a commitment to provide disadvantaged children with additional services so that they may obtain and complete their education on more nearly equal terms.

171. Title I is a categorical program that offers financial assistance to State and local public education agencies to expand their educational programs to serve the special needs of several specific populations: educationally disadvantaged children in State operated programs; neglected and delinquent children in institutions or residing in foster homes; children of migratory workers; and American Indian children attending Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.[1]

172. Title I is the largest single Federal education program and accounts for 34 percent of total Federal funding in elementary and secondary education. The program serves students in 14,000 of the 16,000 public school districts in all States, the District of Columbia, and the territories and outlying areas. In 1978 it served approximately 5.4 million children at a cost of $2.285 billion. About 95 percent of Title I funds nationwide are spent on providing instructional services.

173. The major focus of Title I is on low-achieving children who reside in areas of concentration of low-income families. Eighty percent of the entire Title I appropriation is allocated to programs that are planned and administered by the local school district in such areas. This part of Title I provides almost one-third of the total per pupil expenditure is some of the nation's poorest school districts. Consequently, this report will emphasize the part of Title I which supports programs in local distrcts. This section first discusses the major features of the Title I program, followed by a brief review of Title I evaluation results.

TITLE I PROGRAM OPERATIONS

174. TItle I funds flow to local areas by a Federal allocation formula. Within school districts, funds allocation requirements are designed to ensure that Title I funds are supplemental to regular program services provided from State and local monies. Program development requirements specify procedures for implementing programs within the school. The Federal government and the States have oversight responsibilities to ensure the proper operation of the program at the local level. This section will highlight the workings of each of these major features.

175. The Funding Mechanism. In establishing Title I, Congress decided that low-income children were the appropriate population to be counted; that the amount of money per child given to a State should be related to costs of education in that State; and that the funds should be used for special services for educationally disadvantaged children.

176. The children counted under the formula include:

- Children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, from families with incomes below a widely-accepted measure of poverty known as the Orshansky Index.
- Children aged 5 to 17 from families receiving payments under the Federal welfare program (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, AFDC), which total more than the current poverty level for a nonfarm family of four.
- Children aged 5 to 17 being supported with public funds who live in foster homes or in institutions for neglected or delinquent children and depend on LEAs for educational services.

177. Data required for the Orshansky formula are readily available for the entire nation through the Census, but only to the county level. The Office of Education delegates to the States the responsibility for suballocating county grants to LEAs in cases where LEAs are not coterminous with counties.

178. Although most funds to local areas are allocated using the above child count, some funds are allocated under two new provisions adopted in the Education Amendments of 1978. First, one-half of the funds appropriated in excess of the 1979 appropriation for basic grants would be allocated according to the numnber of children in the State from families below 50 percent of the median national income according to the 1975 Survey of Income and Education conducted by the Bureau of the Census. Second, a new provision authorizes extra funds ($196.7 million for school year 80-81) to areas with large numbers or high concentrations of poverty children (thus directing additional funds to the cities and poor rural districts, respectively).

179. Within districts, Title I funds must be spent in those schools that serve children with the greatest poverty. Eligible schools within a district are identified primarily on the basis of their relative percentage of poverty and children.

180. Funds Allocation Controls. A number of specific requirements have been imposed on the Title I funds in efforts to ensure that those funds are used to provide supplemental services to the educationally disadvantaged target population. The major requirements include:

- A prohibition against the use of funds as general aid; school districts may serve only "educationally deprived" children with Title I funds and not the student body at large.

- Maintenance of effort provisions which require that funding from State and local sources for Title I schools cannot decrease as a result of the additional funding. Without such provisions, States or districts could in effect subvert the intent of extra additional expenditures by substituting Title I dollars for their own money, thus maintaining the same level of overall educational expenditures.

- The requirement of comparability which specifies that the level of services provided from State and local funds in every Title I school be substantially comparable to the average level of State and locally funded services in non-Title I schools.

- Supplement not supplant requirements which ensure that Title I funds are added to, and not used to replace, State and local funds which would, in the absence of Title I funds, have been available.

- The excess cost requirement intended to clarify the supplanting provisions by stipulating that Title I funds can pay only for the excess costs of Title I programs and projects. If, for example, a district is spending on the average $1,000 per pupil for the regular academic program, and the local Title I program is designed to provide the same program at a more intensive level, Title I may be used only for program costs in excess of $1,000 per pupil.

- Equitably provided provisions require that Title I children in Title I schools receive their proportionate share of special services in comparison to children in non-Title I schools.

181. As a whole, these funds allocation regulations give force to the statement in the statute that Title I funds be used to "expand and improve" programs by meeting the "special" needs of educationally deprived children in low-income areas.

182. Program Development Requirements. There are six major requirements to which LEAs must adhere in designing and implementing Title I programs. The purpose of these requirements is to insure that services are related to the needs of the children to be served and that they are carefully planned, implemented, and evaluated.

(1) The needs assessment requirement specifies the process for identifying educationally disadvantaged children and their needs. This requirement is intended to ensure that all educationally disadvantaged children residing in low-income areas are identified.

(2) The program design requirement calls for a formal plan based on the results of the needs assessment establishing objectives for the Title I program and the specifying the activities and services which will accomplish the desired ends.

(3) The size, scope and quality requirement is intended to ensure that Title I funds provide services of sufficient size, scope, and quality to give reasonable promise of success.

(4) The coordination requirement is intended to prevent Title I from duplicating benefits provided to the target population by ensuring that Title I services are planned in conjunction with other Federal and State agency programs.

(5) The program evaluation requirement provides that the effectiveness of the Title I program in meeting the educational needs of children be assessed.

(6) The parent involvement requirement prescribes the nature and extent of parental involvement in the development and operation of Title I programs.

183. Federal and State Administrative Responsibilities: The current balance of Federal and State roles and responsibilities has developed over a number of years as the legal framework for Title I has been refined. The Federal government has a major administrative role to play in the funding of Title I. It is responsible for funds disbursement annually down to the county level. The Federal staff offices are also responsible for drafting regulations that clarify and interpret the legislation. They also provide technical assistance and monitor the SEAs and LEAs to determine compliance violations. The Federal government also conducts its own independent evaluations of the program.

184. States play an important role in the administration of Title I. They can add regulatory provisions governing the implementation of the program, so long as these provisions are consistent with the Federal legal framework. They exercise approval authority over LEA program applications. They are responsible for direct oversight of local activities through State monitoring and enforcement efforts. States are also required to provide LEAs with technical assistance and to disseminate information useful in improving the quality of the Title I program.

TITLE I EVALUATION RESULTS

185. Title I has had an evaluation requirement since the inception of the program. From 1967 to 1976, there were 15 major Title I evaluations. These studies have been managed by various component units of the U.S. Office of Education, by the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, and by the General Accounting Office. In addition to these 15 studies, in 1974 the Congress mandated the National Institute of Education to study compensatory education as part of the reauthorization process for 1978. In recent years about $24 million has been expended on the national evaluation of the Title I program.

186. This section traces the history of early Title I evaluations in order to detail the scope of interest in the program and to elaborate differing evaluation strategies that have been used. In general, early studies (1965-1970) of the impact of Title I produced discouraging results.

187. The American Institutes for Research (AIR) reanalyzed and synthesized evaluation data from FY 1965 through 1970. The authors of the resulting report concluded that sufficient funds had not been allocated for ancillary services and that some of the funds were not directed at compensatory students. In the area of effects upon achievement of participants, the AIR study conclude that "there was little evidence at the national level that the program had had any positive impact on eligible and participating children."

188. Recent studies of Title I have been both more comprehensive and more sophisticated than the efforts of the earlier years. They recognized that a meaningful evaluation of the overall effectiveness of this Federal program must consider its success in meeting each of the program's three interrelated but independent goals. Thus, Title I is to be judged on the basis of the adequacy of the distribution of funds, its effect on local funding patterns, and the nature of the educational and ancillary services provided.

189. Allocation of Funds. Title I has been successful in distributing funds to areas in which there are concentrations of children from low-income famiies, thus meeting the first of the goals established by the Congress. Generally, Title I money is directed to places with large proprotions of poor children, such as certain central cities and rural areas. Overall, the larger the number of poor children living in a district, the larger its allocation.

190. Title I Effects on Spending. The National Institute of Education found that Title I is superior to other Federal or State funding programs in terms of its capacity to increase educational spending at the local level, rather than being used to replace local expenditures. A higher proportion of Title I dollars represents net additions to district expenditures than is the case with other Federal or State education aid.

191. Services. The research completed by the National Institute of Education also showed that three-fourths of the funds received by the districts are used for instruction services. The districts use about 5 percent of their allocation to provide such ancillary services as food, medical care, and psychological counseling. The remaining 20 percent of the Title I budget is used to pay for employee benefits, administration, plant and maintenance, and related costs. On average, Title I students spend 5.5 hours per week in special instruction. Their small classes average nine students in reading and twelve in mathematics and language arts; by comparison, regular classes have 27 students.

RECENT STUDIES -- EFFECTS ON ACHIEVEMENT

192. Throughout the history of the Title I program, many educators and parents have asked: Is the program improving the students' academic performance? In an attempt to answer this question, the U.S. Office of Education, the National Institute of Education, and other research and evaluation organizations have intensively studied the effects of Title I services on student achievement. Many of the early studies were not able to demonstrate unambiguously the improvement in student performance, and for this reason, early evaluations of the program were somewhat discouraging.

193. In 1971 the Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation undertook a thorough examination of the compensatory reading programs. The Compensatory Reading Study was designed to describe compensatory reading practices in grades 2, 4, aqnd 6 and to relate these practices to the acquisition of skills and to program costs. In his summary of the research, Dr. George Mayeske notes that compensatory students tend not to fall further behind noncompensatory students during the school year. With regard to the national norm student (the 50th percentile student), both compensatory and noncompensatory students improved through the school year, although the noncompensatory student showed somewhat greater percentile increases than the compensatory students. Overall, this study suggested that reading scores of students in compensatory education do in fact rise over the course of the school year.

194. The positive findings of the Compensatory Reading Study generally agree with findings from the NIE Instructional Dimension Study. The NIE study differed from previous national evaluations because it focused on stable Title I programs. Although the study was not a random sample, its classrooms survey included a range of income levels and ethnic groups.

195. Since NIE was interested in examining the relative effectiveness of different instructional techniques, its study focused on several issues: individualized techniques, the amount of time students spend in instruction, and whether students were taught in their regular classrooms or in a "pullout" setting. The programs studied were chosen to provide a sample which varied considerably in all these respects, so that the results of different approaches could be compared.

196. The results showed that the Title I children made significant achievement gains overall. For example, first graders in the sample made average gains of 12 months in reading and 11 months in mathematics during the seven-month period between fall and spring testing, a gain equivalent to a 12-point and 15-point rise in their percentile scores. Third graders gained 8 months in reading and 12 in mathematics, a percentile gain of 7 and 15 points. These gains are considerably greater than those found in previous evaluations. As we have noted, earlier evaluations suggested that students gained no faster than a rate of one month per month of instruction. Students in the classrooms studied by NIE tended to gain at a significantly faster rate.

197. These results, however, do not imply that Title I instruction is effective in all schools and in all districts. Rather, they suggest that compensatory instruction can meet with significant success when programs are stable and well planned.

198. In addition to these encouraging results from the NIE research, the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) has collected and anlayzed 283 State-level reports on Title I produced during the years 1969-1974. By examining pre-test and post-test data over the school year, the students' average monthly gains were calculated. SRI reports that there was an average gain of 1.1 month for each month of instruction. This analysis agrees with other findings about the short range effectiveness of Title I instruction.

199. The issue of long term effectiveness of Title I programs has also been the focus of continued research. The SRI study found that compensatory students tend to rank at about the same percentile in the fall of grades 2, 4, and 6. In other words, compensatory students tend to remain at the same place relative to their peers. However, this finding must be interpreted carefully. Because the SRI research was not longitudinal, this result may be primarily due to the tendency of school districts to serve students falling below a certain percentile score.

200. A more detailed description of Title I and analysis of the many evaluation studies which have been undertaken appears in the Appendix.

CHAPTER V

TRANSITION TO WORK

BACKGROUND

201. The alarming rate of unemployment among young people in the U.S., especially among minorities and inner-city youth, was a major stimulant to much of the massive social legislation enacted in the mid-sixties. Thus, a major portion of the War on Poverty was aimed at skills training, job placement, and job creation. These programs were intended to assist young persons who had dropped out of school or had finished secondary school without definite career orientations or marketable skills and to prevent other young people from leaving school without such skills. Manpower training and vocational education were the two main categories of legislation that developed.

- In 1962 the Congress enacted the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) and the Area Redevelop ment Act (ARA). In addition, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 contained several manpower training provisions, as did the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. In 1973, the Congress consolidated all these manpower training efforts of the Federal government into the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA).

- The Vocational Education Act (VEA) was passed in 1963 to assist the States in providing high quality vocational training or retraining for persons of all ages. This legislation consolidated a long history of Federal involvement in stimulation of vocational education. In 1968, 1972, and 1976, this legislation was amended substantially, and special provisions were included to provide extra services to the disadvantaged.

202. The two legislative streams were distinguished in several ways though the distinctions were not precise in the U.S. context.

- CETA and the predecessor manpower programs were a response to unemployment, primarily among those young people who were no longer in school, and only incidentally directed to those who might drop out of school. They stressed "training," meaning a process of acquiring specific job skills usually outside the formal educational process, although some provisions were education-oriented and were administered through the schools. CETA, which on the Federal level is administered by the Department of Labor, made general purpose governments (rather than school districts) responsible for local operation of programs.

- VEA is primarily a response to the vocational needs of those who are still in school and only incidentially to those who have dropped out but might be motivated to reenter school. It supports "education", that is, formalized, general instruction primarily in classrooms, in the form of a curriculum alternative offered through schools. At the Federal level, it has been administered through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and is now to be transferred to the new Education Department.

203. As in other post-industrialized societies, the plight of youth entering the labor market has been a growing concern of government in the U.S. in recent years. The very specific problem of youth without jobs is still the predominant concern. But there has also been a broadening of perspective among educators and policymakers that goes beyond the tangible problem of unemployment and encompasses more general problems of youth in transition to adulthood. In this regard, the overall relationship between the school setting (particularly secondary schools) and the world of work in preparing all youth for transition to adulthood has become a matter of increasing policy significance. Federal policy in the mid-seventies has recognized the situation as a shared problem among schools, the family, general purpose governments, business and labor.

204. Recognizing the need for more cooperation, the Congress in the 1977 amendments to CETA began to bridge the administrative and conceptual gap between educational efforts in the schools and training efforts in non-school settings. The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA), enacted as part of CETA, included a provision requiring that 22 percent of the Youth Employment and Training Program allocation to local grantees be spent in accordance with an agreement with one or more Local Education Agencies (LEA). These could cover such activities as LEA operation of in-school programs or demonstrations of alternative techniques for motivating youth to stay in school or to return to school if they have dropped out. The 1978 amendments to CETA strengthened these relationships further and included specific provisions to stimulate cooperation and joint action by the Departments of Labor and HEW in breaking down the barriers between school and work.

205. In March 1978 Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Joseph A. Califano, Jr., and Secretary of Labor, F. Ray Marshall, signed a memorandum of agreement on the implementation of YEDPA. The agreement commits both Departments to work cooperatively in areas such as the awarding of academic credit for work experience supported by the Act, developing and disseminating new models that will promote structural reform in education and work, upgrading and coordinating career information and delivery systems,

and promoting local Work and Education Councils. These cooperative efforts, along with other joint projects that have been initiated between the Department of Labor and HEW hold significant promise for youth in the U.S.

MAJOR PROGRAMS

Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA)

206. The predominant emphasis in CETA programs is on job training, a subsidy for salary during training, and job placement. However, some educational activities are supported, and these must be considered a significant part of U.S. policy for the education of the disadvantaged. Of the eight titles of CETA, Titles II, III, IV, and VIII [1] are of particular importance for this review.

- Title II. Economically disadvantaged and unemployed persons receive classroom and on-the-job training, work experience, transitional public service employment, upgrading, retraining, and supportive services through Federal grants to States and localities serving as prime sponsors of comprehensive employment and training programs.

- Title III. Persons who have a particlular disadvantage in the labor market -- native Americans, migrants and other seasonal farmworkers, the handicapped, displaced homemakers, welfare recipients, veterans, and other special groups -- are assisted by special programs under this title, which also supports partnership between prime sponsors and State employment security agencies.

- Title IV. Most programs aimed at young people are in this title:

  - The Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act, first enacted in 1977, established a variety of employment, training, and demonstration programs to explore methods of dealing with the structural unemployment problems of the nation's youth. One of its four subparts, the Youth Employment and Training Program, requires each prime sponsor to allocate a minimum of 22 percent of their grant to activities under agreements with LEAs. The funds available nationwide in FY 1977 for this purpose totaled about $88 million. Authorized activities include literacy training, development of basic skills and job skills, bilingual training, career counseling, and attainment of certificates of high school equivalency.

-- The Job Corps is a residential program of intensive education, training, and counseling for disadvantaged young men and women, 17 through 21, operating at 60 centers across the country.

-- The Summer Youth program provides useful work, basic education, and institutional or on-the-job training for eligible youth.

Title VIII. The Young Adult Conservation Corps provides training and work in conservation, wildlife, and recreation projects in residential and nonresidential settings for 22,000 disadvantaged youth from all economic backgrounds, aged 16 through 23.

The program is administered by the Departments of Agriculture and Interior by agreement with the Department of Labor.

Vocational Education Act (VEA)

207. The Vocational Education Act is not directed solely to a specific target group in a given level of the formal school process. Rather it applies to persons of all ages who are preparing to enter or are enrolled in secondary or postsecondary schools or are already in the labor market and who either choose the vocational education route, or who want to enter the labor market but do not have the basic educational and job skills necessary for success.

208. Special concern for the disadvantaged pervades many parts and programs of the VEA. States must allocate Federal funds to economically depressed areas which have concentrations of low income families, and high unemployment. Certain percentages of funds must be set aside for disadvantaged groups and individuals. Because of this important influence of VEA on the educational opportunities available for disadvantaged youth, this section outlines the history and provisions of VEA as a whole before focusing on a case study of those parts of the Act which most explicitly serve the disadvantaged.

History and Structure of VEA

209. The tradition of Federal support for vocational education dates from the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 which supported preparation of youth and adults for the fields of agriculture, home economics, and trade and industry. Amendments to the Smith-Hughes Act and other legislation continued and expanded financial assistance to the States for vocational education through the years. In 1961, President Kennedy appointed a panel of consultants which produced a national evaluation of vocational education programs and recommended increased support in general and for youth with special needs.

210. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 incorporated many of the panel's recommendations, including those relating to demonstration, research and experimental projects and to increasing support for youths who have academic, socioeconomic, or other handicaps that prevent them from succeeding in regular vocational programs.

211. In 1968, the VEA was amended to clarify the definition of vocational education, stress innovation in planning and delivery of vocational education, and emphasize the relevance of vocational education to job market needs. Several new categorical programs were authorized, and the authorization of the basic State grant was made permanent. All matching requirements were consolidated into one Statewide matching requirement, allowing increased State flexibility in equalizing funds available to poor districts that previously might have been unable to supply matching funds.

212. The 1968 amendments also incorporated more specific language regarding students with "special needs." No less than 15 percent of the basic grants to States was to be used for special services or programs for "...persons (other than handicapped persons...) who have academic, socioeconomic, or other handicaps that prevent them from succeeding in the regular vocational education program."[2] The amendments also provided for a specific allocation of funds to pay for the full cost of vocational education for persons who fit the above definition. Although the 1968 law did not use the term disadvantaged, these two provisions were soon popularly known as the "disadvantaged set-aside."

213. In 1976, the VEA was again revised extensively by the Congress. The set-aside for the disadvantaged was increased to 20 percent, and the requirement of 50-50 State and/or local matching of this amount was added. Further, the Special Program for the Disadvantaged was formalized. The new legislation stressed innovation and improvement of program quality, increased State planning requirements, specific action to remove sex bias, and greater attention to the catalytic role of Federal funds. Funds were made available for a wide range of technical assistance and developmental activities, for Advisory Councils, personnel training, program improvement, and support services. Vocational education services to individuals were provided by programs operated through the states and by programs funded through national competitive grants.

State Programs

214. For those programs administered by States, the Federal government allocates funds by formula to States and Territories based on age distribution and per capita income within the States. Each state is required to give priority to economically depressed areas and areas with high unemployment rates. The State must also use--as the two most important factors in distributing funds to LEA's--the relative financial ability of the LEA to provide needed services, and the relative concentration of low-income populations within the LEA. [3]

215. Basic Grants to States may be used for vocational education, work-study, cooperative education, energy education, construction of area vocational education facilities, support of full-time personnel to eliminate sex bias, stipends for students who have acute economic needs which cannnot be met by other programs, industrial arts programs, support services for women who are preparing to enter programs traditionally limited to men, daycare services for children of persons enrolled in vocational programs, and construction and operation of residential vocational schools. The total amount of Federal funds available for Basic Grants to States in FY '78 was $430 million.

216. To be eligible for Federal funds, States must: submit a five-year plan as well as an annual program plan establishing that the use of funds is in accordance with Federal regulations; match Federal funds on a dollar-for-dollar basis; establish a State Occupational Information Coordinating Committee to assist in providing labor market supply and demand data to vocational education planners; and establish a State Advisory Council.

217. States are also required to set aside 10 percent of these monies for the physically and mentally handicapped, 15 percent for postsecondary programs, and 20 percent for the disadvantaged which have to be matched categorically. The law requires that preference be given by States in allocating work-study, cooperative education, and construction funds to LEAs in areas with substantial dropout and unemployment rates.

218. Program Improvement and Supportive Services funds are allocated by formula to States for supportive services for vocational programs, research, exemplary and innovative projects, curriculum development, guidance and counseling, preservice and inservice training, and programs to overcome sex bias. Federal regulations encourage use of these funds for programs in urban centers with high concentrations of economically disadvantaged individuals, unskilled workers, and unemployed individuals and for curriculum development guidance and counseling, and training ing for vocational education personnel who work with disadvantaged persons. The amount of Federal funds available for Program Improvement and Supportive Services grants to States was $107,567,000 in FY "78.

219. State Advisory Councils must be established before any State may receive Federal funds for vocational education. At least twenty designated interests--including appropriate representation of men and women, racial and ethnic minorities, and the various geographic regions of the State--must be considered in making these appointments. A majority of the members must be from occupations other than education. The functions of the State advisory councils' include: advising the State board in the development of the five-year plan, annual plan and accountability reports, and on policy matters; evaluating vocational education programs, preparing an annual evaluation report and identifying vocational education and manpower needs.

220. Consumer and Homemaking Education is supported by Federal funds awarded to States and Territories in accordance with the same formula as Basic Grants. Males and females, youth and adults are prepared for consumer and homemaking roles through programs at all levels. At least one-third of the State's allotment for this program must be used in economically depressed areas or in areas with high rates of unemployment on a matching basis of 90 Federal to 10 State dollars; the remainder must be matched one-to-one. Federal funds available for this program in FY 1978 amounted to $41 million.

National Programs

221. National Programs were authorized by the 1976 VEA amendments, and funded at $31 million in FY 1978, to support applied research, demonstration, curriculum development, training and dissemination activities and a joint effort with other agencies to develop an occupational information system. Awards for these special projects are made through annual competition and reflect selected Federal priorities for a given fiscal year. Projects are approved for periods ranging from one to three years. Recent priorities have included comprehensive guidance, counseling, placement and follow through to help disadvantaged and minority groups. About $7 million was budgeted for those activities in FY 1979.

222. Bilingual Vocational Training is also a nationally competitive program, which awards one-year grants to support bilingual vocational training, bilingual vocational instructor training, and the development of bilingual instructional materials, methods, and techniques.

223. The remainder of this case study focuses on the two VEA programs that provide additional support and special services for individuals who are disadvantaged.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED -- A CASE STUDY

PROGRAM GOALS

224. The set-aside for the disadvantaged is intended to ensure that disadvantaged persons have access to special help in achieving success in regular vocational education programs. The minimum percentage set-aside is used to pay for special services for such youth and adults who are in or preparing to enter regular programs, or where clearly warranted, to pay the Federal share of the cost for separate specialized programs. Funds can be used for activities authorized under the Basic Grants or Program Improvement and Supportive Services, with a 50-50 matching required in all cases.

225. Special Programs for the Disadvantaged are intended for similar purposes, with some added emphases and requirements for targeting funds to areas of high concentrations of youth unemployment and school dropouts. These services can be supported entirely from Federal funds, with no State matching, but must be used only for vocational programs.

PROGRAM SCOPE

226. Set-aside program activities nationally affect an estimated 13.2 percent of all students enrolled in vocational education at the secondary and postsecondary levels. In FY 1976, 1.87 million students received services, of whom 1.2 million were in secondary schools, 242 thousand in postsecondary education, and 413 thousand were adults.

227. Federal funds spent under the set-aside have grown from $42,352,806 in FY 1970, the first year the requirement was in effect, to $80,176,318 in FY 1976. With the increase in the set-aside to 20 percent in the 1976 amendments, the President's budget would make about $107 million available in FY 1979.

228. Under the 1968 requirements, most States overmatched the total Basic State Grant, including funds for the disadvantaged. In FY 1976, there were $285 million of State and local funds in comparison with $80 million of Federal dollars. However, the expenditure under the set-aside for the disadvantaged was very uneven across States, ranging in FY 1975 from a high of nearly 40 percent for one State to a low of about 6 percent in another.[4]

229. Special program activities involved 206 thousand students in all States and Territories in FY 1976. Of these, 121 thousand were at the secondary level and less than 31 thousand were at the postsecondary level.

230. The actual appropriation for the program has never exceeded $20 million, and that was the amount requested by the President in FY 1979. No matching by State/local funds is required in the Special Program. However, in FY 1976 States reported approximately $16.4 million in State and local funds were spent for services under this program. The combined figures for the set-aside and SPD totaled 1.3 million students assisted in FY 1976 and an estimated 2 million in FY 1978. Total expenditure in FY 1976, including State/local matching funds and carry over from FY 1975, amounted to $322 million for the two programs combined.

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

231. Grant Process. The amount of funds available to each State for the setaside and, separately, for the Special Programs are each determined by a formula. The funds are an entitlement to the State, but each State must submit a five-year Plan describing how the purposes will be met through specific activities. An annual program plan must also be submitted updating the explanation of the use of these funds. In addition, an annual report is required that provides specific information on the extent to which the goals of the five-year plan are being met, how funds for the disadvantaged were used, and results of the use of funds. The report also provides a summary of State and local evaluations of the programs and how that information will be used to improve programs.

232. Distribution of funds within States is determined by the State for both programs. Generally, local education agencies submit separate applications for each program using forms developed by each State. Each LEA receiving funds must establish an advisory council with representatives of the public, business, labor, and industry, but not necessarily parents.

233. Eligible Participants. Set-aside supplemental services are intended to be delivered to individual students. Consequently, in addition to the competition for funds based on area characteristics, most LEAs also compete for set-aside funds on the basis of identified needs of individuals. The law requires the set-aside to be spent for the excess cost of programs for persons who are not succeeding in the regular vocational programs. These may be persons who have academic disadvantages (lack of reading, writing, or mathematical skills or performance below grade level) or economic disadvantages (family income below poverty, student or parent/guardian unemployed, recipient of public assistance, institutionalized or under State guardianship) or be persons who require special services or assistance to succeed in regular programs.

234. Special Program eligibility requirements are generally the same as for the set-aside. However, the funds are intended for areas with high concentrations of unemployed youth or dropouts, for areas with the greatest need for supplemental services, and for situations where an entire population is disadvantaged, such as in a correctional institution or a special program for dropouts.

PROGRAM RESULTS

235. Nationwide evaluation of the set-aside and the Special program has been frustrated by at least four factors:

1. Inconsistency or lack of specificity at all governmental levels in defining the term "disadvantaged" and consequently lack of individual assessment instruments to be used in identifying specific needs to be addressed.
2. The carryover provision in the law that allows States two years to spend funds.
3. The lack of specific differentiation between matching of funds for the disadvantaged under the set-aside and matching the overall Basic State Grant.
4. The lack of written policy statements and requirements for the specific services and types of programs to be implemented under the set-aside and Special programs.

The 1976 amendments to VEA included changes in reporting requirements, specific matching of the set-aside, and a more precise definition of "disadvantaged." These changes will help to provide a better information base in future years.

236. Information on past operation of the programs is largely contained in State reports, in parts of national evaluations of Vocational Education, and in one national evaluation that specifically investigated vocational education for the disadvantaged.

237. This latter study was conducted by Olympus Research Corporation (ORC) under contract with the USOE and was published in 1976. The principal investigators were John Walsh and Jan L. Totten. The study involved 23 States, 77 communities (including 55 LEA's and 22 community college districts). Eighty-four projects were visited, including 62 secondary and 22 postsecondary. Interviews were conducted with State staff, local education officials, community college officials, project staff, students, and employers. [6] Because of its timeliness and specific focus, the ORC study forms the basis of the following discussion.

238. Findings of the Olympus study indicate that the most common criterion used to identify disadvantaged students was academic, that is, students who are one or more grade levels behind their peers. However, there is also evidence that State and local administrators have difficulty in interpreting the congressional definition of "disadvantaged" because: 1) they see an apparent conflict between the identification of students

on an individual basis and the designation of target areas or groups; 2) they cite the existence of allegedly conflicting definitions of "disadvantaged" contained in laws other than the Vocational Amendments of 1968; and 3) local administrators indicate they are unwilling to "label" students as disadvantaged.

PROGRAM SERVICES

239. SPD funds may be used only for vocational education programs. Set-aside fund uses are not specified in the law and regulations, beyond the general purpose of providing supplementary services to help students succeed in regular vocational education programs. The RESURGE guidance document suggests eleven categories of services, including surveys/evaluations, recruitment, individual needs assessment, staff development, curriculum development, and supplemental educational services such as guidance, placement, tutorial services, and bilingual instruction.

240. The vast majority of the Federal funds were used to hire staff who work directly with students. Only a small portion of the funds were used to hire administrative personnel while this practice gives the appearance of efficiency, one result appears to be that the program suffers from lack of planning and monitoring at all levels. The States generally had only one person supervising these programs, and little time was available for planning, monitoring, or evaluating programs. In States where education agencies were subdivided on a regional basis, program monitoring and evaluation appeared to be more complete, and program officers were more familiar with the programs.

241. Sixteen of the 23 States (70 percent) required local education jurisdictions or schools to submit proposals to the State to compete for funds, according to established guidelines. These States funded projects on the basis of the quality of the proposals and the ability of the sponsors to carry out the projects. The other States funded on a block grant formula basis to a local education jurisdiction.

242. In developing programs, the major constraints mentioned by respondents at all levels were: lack of funds, lack of facilities, unwillingness of some instructional personnel to accept disadvantaged students into their classes, the negative image of vocational education, and the ambiguity of the term "disadvantaged student."

243. About 46 percent of the enrollment in high school projects were students from minority groups; information about racial and ethnic background was not available for 51 percent

of the postsecondary enrollment. Of the known postsecondary-level enrollment, 22 percent were minority and 27 percent white. Women comprised a slightly higher percentage of the total high school enrollment than men; the reverse was true at the postsecondary level. However, characteristics by sex were unavailable for 34 percent of the postsecondary enrollment.

244. The fact that half of the project directors interviewed did not believe that the students enrolled in their classes were disadvantaged raises serious questions about the initial selection criteria and also about individual assessment techniques. At the school level, few criteria existed for identifying disadvantaged students, and there was a corresponding lack of adequate assessment procedures for determining the conditions which cause school failure.

245. About 47 percent of the postsecondary-level students were enrolled in remedial programs. The latter were often enrolled in skills training programs not funded out of the set-aside or Special Program funds. In such cases, funds for the disadvantaged were being used to support students enrolled in regular programs.

246. Almost half of the high school students were enrolled in work-experience programs, indicating that it was not difficult to place disadvantaged students in work situations. However, the vast majority of these secondary students who were enrolled in work-experience programs (86 percent) were not receiving skills training in school.

247. According to the 442 work-experience students interviewed, the tasks they were performing on the job were in low-skill, low-pay, and high-turnover occupations. For example, 78 percent of the jobs listed in the food service category were as waitresses, food handlers, busboys, and dishwashers; 44 percent of the jobs listed under car maintenance were service station attendant, washing cars, and parking cars; 80 percent of the jobs listed under child and hospital care were taking care of patients (giving baths and so on) and child care or babysitting.

248. There are positive outcomes for the programs. Program costs at $395 per enrollee (Federal costs) and $401 per enrollee (combined Federal, State, and local) were low. The average completion rate (83 percent) was high. The student ratings of the programs were overwhelmingly favorable, and the employer ratings of the programs and their student employees were also favorable. Administrators generally attribute the favorable rating of students to the fact that enrollees receive attention they were not receiving elesewhere.

CHAPTER VI

TRANSITION TO POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

BACKGROUND

249. U. S. Federal policies for students in secondary and postsecondary education primarily concern enhancing equal educational opportunity. These policies support a student's choice to follow vocational education (the immediate employment-oriented study described in Chapter V) or to follow more academically oriented study in a two-year college, a four-year college, or a university. The principal strategy for enhancing educational opportunity for the disadvantaged in postsecondary education is student financial aid. This Federal effort incorporates direct non-returnable grants of financial aid, fellowships for specialized populations or for special fields, and self-help programs such as low interest loans, work study, and cooperative education.

250. These goals are also addressed by compensatory or remedial help for disadvantaged youth to complete general secondary school programs or regular vocational education programs, by encouragement or motivation to continue education beyond secondary school.

251. While student grant and self-help programs attempt to remove or equalize financial barriers to postsecondary education, Federal policy also seeks to remove non-financial barriers to access and persistence in school during the transition years from secondary schooling to postsecondary completion. This effort identifies disadvantaged youth in the secondary school age range (or military veterans) who have academic potential for education beyond high school, but who need compensatory education services or counseling in order to make the transition to, and maintain satisfactory progress in higher education. These activities are implemented primarily through four programs that are referred to as the Special Programs for Disadvantaged Students. The four programs included under this general title are Upward Bound (UB), Talent Search (TS), Special Services for Disadvantaged Students (SSDS), and the Educational Opportunity Centers (EOCs).

SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR DISADVANTAGED STUDENTS - A CASE STUDY

LEGISLATIVE BACKGROUND

252. Upward Bound originated in the summer of 1965 from pilot projects funded by the Carnegie Corporation and the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). The projects were experimental efforts to provide supplementary services to low-income youth who would be entering postsecondary education courses in the fall but who needed intensive college preparation services. As the summer program results were analyzed, OEO determined that a full-year program, even reaching down to the second and third years of high school, was needed to help disadvantaged young people who were academic risks to complete high school, and to motivate them to seek higher education. The new program, consisting of both summer residential activities and academic-year follow-up services, became a national program in the 1966 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act.

253. The Higher Education Act of 1965 contained a program of financial aid for low-income students called Educational Opportunity Grants. Experience with other programs for disadvantaged youth at the postsecondary level had led to the conclusion that insufficient numbers of low-income youth were entering college to utilize these funds fully. Congress therefore authorized a program in the 1965 Higher Education Act to recruit students eligible to receive Education Opportunity Grants. This program, Talent Search, was intended to identify qualified youth of exceptional financial need and academic potential and to encourage them to complete secondary school and to undertake postsecondary education. It was also designed to publicize existing forms of student financial aid for low-income youth and to encourage secondary school or college dropouts of demonstrated aptitude to re-enter educational programs.

254. Thus, by 1966 there were two programs, Upward Bound (UB) and Talent Search (TS), directed toward assisting disadvantaged students to get into college. By 1968, it had become clear that this was not sufficient. Once in college, many of these youth could not sustain satisfactory progress. Colleges and universities generally were not prepared to provide preparatory or remedial help to these students. Congress, therefore, authorized a third program, Special Services for Disadvantaged Students (SSDS), to provide remedial and other special services for students with academic potential but special needs arising from deprived educational, cultural, or economic backgrounds, or physical handicaps. The 1968 amendments to the Higher Education Act also moved administration of Upward Bound from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Office of Education (OE).

255. The Education Amendments of 1972 amended the Higher Education Act of 1965 to authorize another program to support Educational Opportunity Centers in areas with major concentrations of low-income populations. The Centers were to provide, in coordination with other programs, information on available student financial aid, assistance in applying for admission to postsecondary institutions, and counseling and tutorial assistance during attendance at those institutions. The Federal share of establishing and operating the Centers was set at 75 percent of total costs.

256. There have been other changes since 1973. A 1974 amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act gave SSDS authority to provide special services to youth with limited English language skills in postsecondary institutions. The 1978 Middle Income Student Assistance Act made certain veterans eligible to participate in Special Programs for Disadvantaged Students regardless of age limitations in the program requirements.

257. One basic distinction among the four Special Services Programs has persisted through their legislative evolution. Upward Bound and Special Services provide instructional services to students trying to complete secondary school, reenter secondary or postsecondary school or maintain satisfactory progress in a postsecondary institution. On the other hand, Talent Search concentrates on counseling and recruiting students for postsecondary education or on assisting these disadvantaged youth in their relationship with colleges and universities.

PROGRAM GOALS

258. This section examines goals of the four Special Programs for Disadvantaged Students. Upward Bound is discussed first, followed by SSDS. After the two programs which provide instructional services are discussed, Talent Search and Educational Opportunity Centers are examined.

259. Upward Bound is intended for youths from low-income families who have academic potential, but who may be receiving inadequate secondary school preparation. Its goal is to generate the academic skills and motivation necessary to complete high school and successfully pursue postsecondary education.

260. The SSDS program is intended for students already enrolled or accepted for enrollment in postsecondary institutions who need remedial and special services because of economic, cultural, or educational deprivation, linguistic background, or physical handicaps. It is designed to increase their retention in colleges and universities to improve the possibilities of their completing a program of postsecondary education.

261. Talent Search has different goals. Local Talent Search projects cannot offer instructional services from Federal funds. While Talent Search identifies students who share many characteristics with UB and SSDS participants, it focuses on recruiting students with exceptional academic potential. Its goal is to increase the rate at which students with financial or cultural need complete secondary school and enroll, with adequate financial aid, in postsecondary institutions. It also seeks to decrease the number of secondary and postsecondary dropouts and to assost dropouts to re-enter secondary school. It has a special focus on increasing the postsecondary entry rates among those students who have delayed undertaking additional education.

262. Services similar to those offered by Talent Search are also offered by 18 Education Opportunity Centers. Located in low-income communities, these centers provide a wide range of information and counseling useful to students considering a postsecondary program. Unlike the other programs, these centers serve any individual in the low-income communities in which they are located rather than specific categories of individuals.

263. As an interrelated set of programs, Upward Bound Special Services, Talent Search, and Educational Opportunity Centers have broadly consistent goals. They are all designed to identify, encourage, and motivate students from disadvantaged backgrounds to pursue postsecondary education. They do so by providing instruction or important ancillary services such as counseling and brokering for students as they move from completion of high school to college.

PROGRAM SCOPE

264. Upward Bound is the largest of this set of programs. It served approximately 46,200 students in 403 projects during academic year 1975-76 when its appropriation was $38.3 million. UB funding has increased from $29.6 million in 1970 to $49.8 million in FY 1978.

265. In FY 1976, Special Services served about 93,500 students in 366 projects costing about $23 million. In FY 1978 the appropriation for this program was $45 million.

266. Talent Search and EOCs are smaller in monetary terms. In FY 1976, Talent Search spent $6 million in 130 projects. In FY 1976, EOC established 13 centers at a cost of $3 million. But the lower funding for Talent Search and EOCs does not necessarily indicate diminished scope. Since these projects provide counseling rather than instructional services, their per client cost is far lower than that for either Upward Bound or Special Services. The FY 1978 appropriation for Talent Search was $12.7 million and for EOC $5.3 million. In 1979, the appropriation for the four programs together was $115 million.

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

267. Each of these programs is operated as a competitive project grant. Upward Bound, Special Services, and Talent Search projects are typically operated by institutions of higher education. Occasionally, secondary schools provide Upward Bound services. Other public or private agencies often provide Talent Search services (almost 50 percent of grantees). In these three programs, the host institution is not required to match the grant. In contrast, the Education Opportunity Center Programs are established on a cost-sharing basis. The Federal government pays up to 75 percent of the cost of establishing and operating these centers. A wide range of agencies, including public and private sector ones as well as postsecondary institutions, can compete for an EOC grant.

268. The Bureau of Higher and Continuing Education, USOE, administers these programs directly from Washington. Federal management personnel make decisions about funding on the basis of annual application cycles. In order to ensure continuity of services, projects which demonstrate success tend to be funded again. Applicants may propose projects of one, two, or three years duration. Continuation grants are approved on the basis of an application which does not compete with new proposals. State education agencies are not involved in program administration since the funds are distributed directly to the grantee.

269. At the institutional level, the programs are managed by project directors. The project director is usually an academic officer attached to the university administration and may also be affiliated with one of the university's faculties. Project directors maintain liaison with the Federal project officers and ensure that their project functions in ways consistent with the Federal statute and regulations.

270. Annual reporting requirements for UB and SSDS include collecting information about project performance and financial status. Two reports in each category above are required from each project during the budget year. Talent Search and EOC have administrative arrangements that are similar to those in Upward Bound and Special Services. For these programs, the Federal government also issues guidelines detailing, among other things, the number of contacts required between the project and its clients.

271. Eligibility to receive SSDS services is different for each program although similar characteristics of need are used. In addition, Upward Bound projects serve students located in secondary schools within a 50-mile radius of the project. For Talent Search, at least twenty-five percent of the families residing in the target area proposed by an application must meet the poverty criterion. Educational Opportunity Centers must serve an area with a major concentration of low-income persons. Table 6.1 contains a composite listing of the criteria for eligibility in the four programs.

TABLE 6.1
MAP OF ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA*

Program Characteristics	TS	UB	SSDS	EOC
Eligibles Status:				A
1. Age 14-27	R	R		
2. Completed First Year of Secondary		R		
3. Not Entered Grade 12		R		
4. Accepted at PSE Institution			R	
5. Enrolled in PSE Institution			R	
Needs Defining Eligibility:				A
1. Financial	R	R	R	
2. Educational			R	
3. Cultural	R		R	
4. Physical Handicap			R	
5. Limited English-Speaking Ability			R	

R = Required by Regulation
A = Anyone in Target Area

PROGRAM SERVICES

272. The services offered by grantees for each of these programs vary considerably. The SSDS programs are not as nearly uniform as the early intervention compensatory programs such as Title I, ESEA. Furthermore, the historical relationship between the Federal government and institutions of higher education is even more tenuous than the one between the Federal government and the SEAs. The grantee assumes the responsibility to provide services of sufficient size, scope, and quality to lead to real educational benefit.

273. Upward Bound activities are divided into summer and year-long activities. During the summer, students participate in a residential program and receive room and board from the host institution. Students who have not graduated from secondary school work intensively to develop basic skills. Secondary school graduates receive preparatory instruction and orientation for college or university study. Some summer activities are designed to motivate students to continue their education. These might include such intellectual and cultural activities as field trips, cinema, and athletics, as well as personalized guidance and counseling.

274. During the academic year, services are generally provided on a once-a-week basis (on Saturday or after school) although in rural areas biweekly meetings are more common. Services are not qualitatively different from those offered during the summer, although they are less intense. Upward Bound programs do not vary widely from project to project. Upward Bound is likely to employ techniques such as tutorial instruction, small group instruction, and individualized programs.

275. Special Services projects provide supplementary services which eligible students may use intermittently or as their principal program of study. These programs provide personal, academic, and career counseling services. They also concentrate on developing the student's academic performance by offering special classes, tutoring, and other educational as well as cultural activities. Special Services programs are tailored to the specific needs of individual students and Special Service projects vary widely because their host institutions differ. For example, select institutions with high academic standards more frequently provide tutoring and/or guidance towards graduate study.

276. TS and EOC programs are less structured in the sense that they do not provide continuing services to participants. Their role is to encourage students to complete high school and to enter and complete postsecondary education. Projects provide information about opportunities for postsecondary education and student financial assistance, and they assist in the mechanics of applying for admission to postsecondary institutions and obtaining financial aid. To some extent, TS and EOCs also provide tutorial services. This can be done only with non-Federal funds in Talent Search, whereas EOCs have a clear mandate to provide such services. Table 6.2 indicates allowable services for each of the SPDS programs.

TABLE 6.2

MAP OF PROGRAM SERVICES*

Program Characteristics	TS	UB	SSDS	EOC
Services Offered:				
Information				
PSE Opportunities	R	R		RA
Financial Aid	R	R	R	RA
Counseling	R	R	R	RA
Application Assistance	R	R	R	RA
Remedial Classes		R	R	
PSE Preparatory Classes		R		
Tutoring		R	R	RA
Residential Facilities (Room and Board)		R**		
Cultural Activities		R	R	

R = Required by Regulation
A = Anyone in Target Area

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*Adapted from Carroll C. Dennis. Special Programs: Target Population and Function Map. USOE, Technical Paper 7701.

**Offered only in summer programs.

PROGRAM RESULTS

Characteristics of Population Served and Program Administration

277. Upward Bound. A recent evaluation study conducted by Research Triangle Institute (RTI) indicates that most Upward Bound students come from minority backgrounds.[1] For example, 61 percent were black; 20 percent were either American Indians, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, or Orientals. Since target schools are selected to serve low-income areas, it is reasonable to assume that these minority students are also from low-income households. The RTI study also noted that almost two-thirds of the Upward Bound students were at or below the poverty level on an index closely related to the Federal poverty-level guidelines. Only one-half of the parents of Upward Bound students had attained a formal education equivalent to or greater than a high school diploma. Chart 6.3 shows some characteristics of Upward Bound participants.

278. Host institutions generally play the necessary supportive role in managing and administering Upward Bound projects. Project directors also report cooperative relations with high schools. The quality of the Upward Bound staff has a profound effect on the program. On average, the projects are managed by one and one-half FTE (full-time equivalent) administrative staff and three FTE instructors during the school year but grows to eleven and one-half during the summer session. Upward Bound projects are limited to a maximum of 150 participants. Most staff members were under 36 years old.

279. According to the most reliable data, the cumulative Federal cost in the 1973-74 program was about $3,000 per student who actually enrolled in postsecondary education. The average cost per project site in 1973-74 was $111,986, and the average cost per participant was $830 for the summer program and $700 for the academic year program.

280. Special Services for Disadvantaged Students. A study of disadvantaged students and of all kinds of programs serving them was undertaken by the Educational Testing Service in 1971-72, the second year of the operation of the SSDS program.

This national survey reported that SSDS sites were hosted by institutions with larger proportions of disadvantaged students; Federally supported programs tended to serve more full-time equivalent students though at a slightly higher cost per student than similar non-Federal projects; Federal funding played a significant role in maintaining programs for the disadvantaged.

281. Visits to the Special Services Program sites and reports from Project Directors may suggest management and administration issues affecting the program. Project directors often had low levels of academic credentials and remedial programs generally did not enjoy high status on the host campus. These two factors typically led to a diminished status for the project among the faculty and staff of the host institution. Higher management support for the projects and Project Directors' control over their budgets, as well as coordination with other academic components, could all affect the successful management of the program. But since these data were collected during the first year of the SSDS, the issues of program status and management arrangements with host institutions may have changed.

282. Talent Search. The RTI study found that Talent Search serves students who meet many of the criteria for disadvantagement and who demonstrate exceptional potential for study beyond high school. Approximately one-third of the program's clients demonstrated this potential. Often the criterion for academic potential came down to the personal judgement of teachers and counselors, although several projects did use standardized measures. However, the evaluation of recruitment procedures noted that almost any person requesting assistance was served.

283. Administration of Talent Search programs varied by sites. Few project directors reported using the USOE definitions of eligible clients. Although USOE required two contacts between the project and a client, more than one-third of the projects failed to meet this requirement. Thirty-eight percent of the project directors counted telephone conversations, group meetings, or letter contacts as a "contact". RTI concluded that such procedures were not consistent with the USOE guidelines.

284. Educational Opportunity Centers. EOCs have not been evaluated, although some descriptive information has been collected. Program data show that for the program year 1976-77 about 60,000 individuals were served by 13 centers. In 1975-76 about 15,000 participants had enrolled in postsecondary education or had been accepted and were awaiting enrollment.

Effects of Programs on Participants

285. Upward Bound. The principal objective of the Upward Bound program is to ensure the high school graduation of participating students and to motivate and facilitate entry into postsecondary programs. The program has demonstrated marked effectiveness in meeting the second of these goals.

Chart 6.4 illustrates the high school continuance and completion rate and the postsecondary entry rate for Upward Bound and the comparison group.

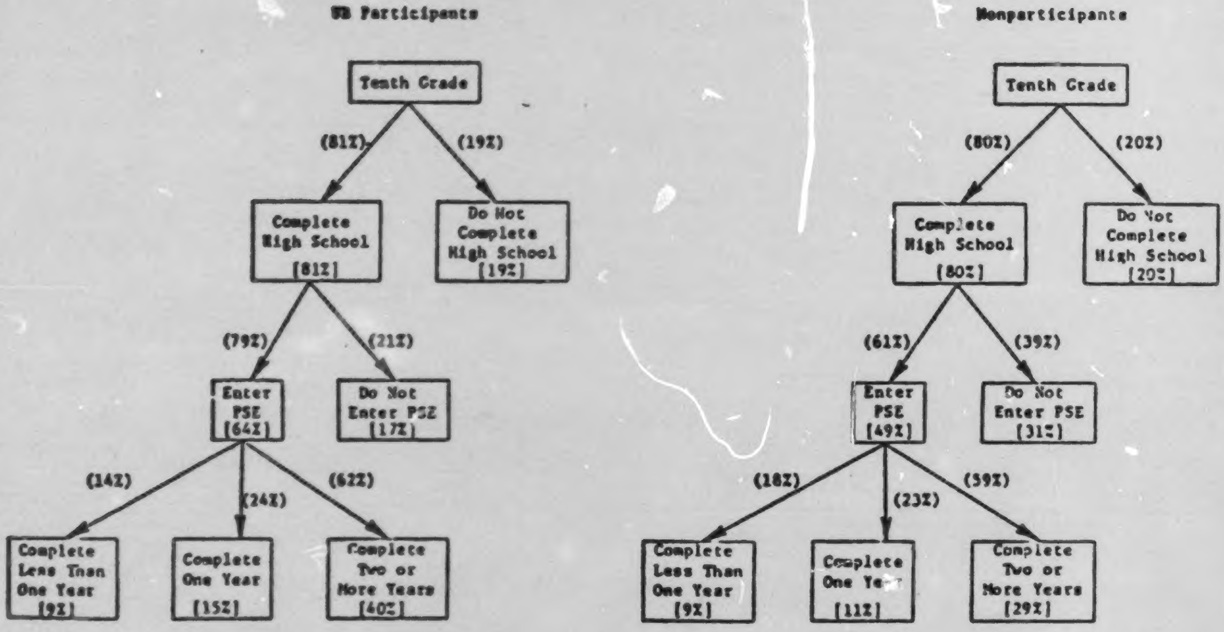
286. Research conducted by the Research Triangle Institute examined a sample group of Upward Bound students and compared their entry rates into postsecondary institutions with those of a comparison group. The research design also compared the high school completion rates of the two populations. Among 11th and 12th graders, Upward Bound participation did not seem to be a factor in high school completion. Upward Bound participation did have an effect upon the continuation of high school programs among tenth graders. Overall, the statistical probability of high school completion for Upward Bound participants was not significantly greater than that for the comparison group.

287. On the other hand, participation in Upward Bound significantly increased the likelihood of postsecondary entry. While many Upward Bound participants enter postsecondary education immediately upon completing high school, the delayed-entry rate is also higher among Upward Bound participants.

288. Seventy-nine percent of the Upward Bound participants enter postsecondary education; in contrast, 61 percent of nonparticipants did so. RTI noted that the number of years of Upward Bound participation had a significant impact on the probability of entry. Three years of Upward Bound treatment lead to a 78 percent enrollment rate; in contrast, one or two years of treatment to a 69 percent rate.

CHART 6.4

COMPOSITE OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF UPWARD BOUND PARTICIPANTS AND NONPARTICIPANTS

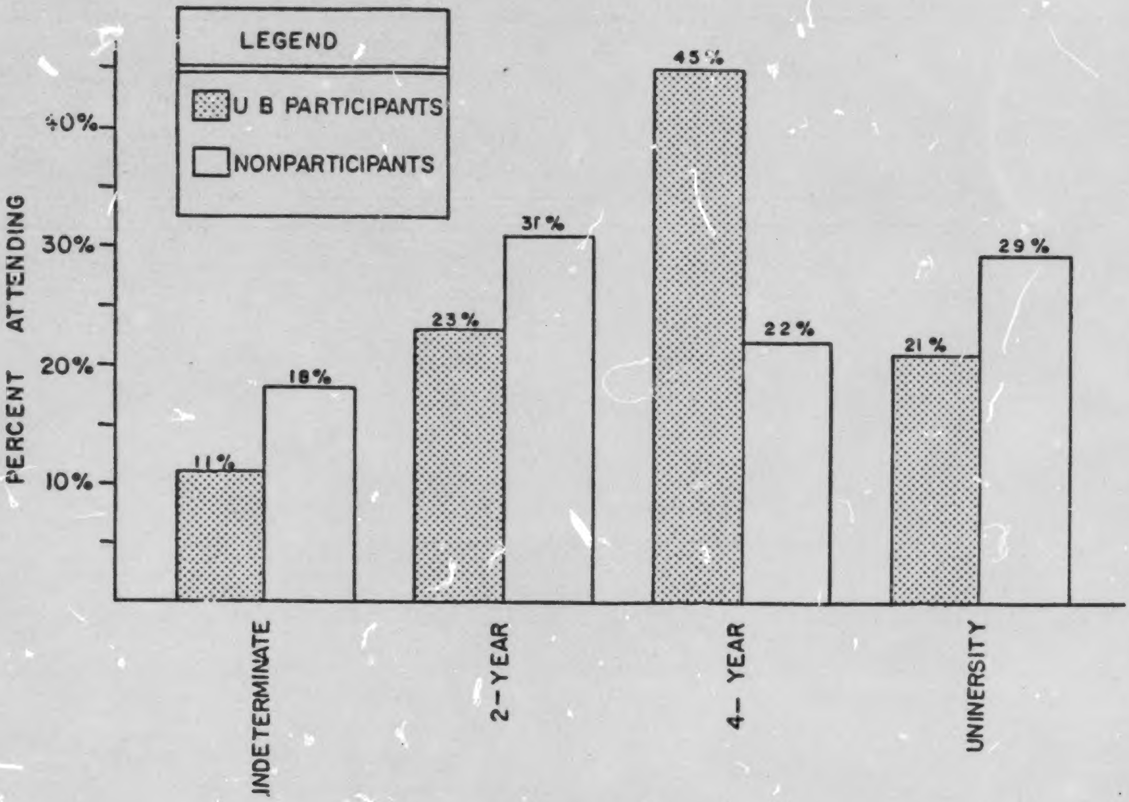

UB Participants
Tenth Grade
(81%)
(19%)
Complete High School [81%]
Do Not Complete High School [19%]
(79%)
(21%)
Enter PSE [64%]
Do Not Enter PSE [17%]
(14%)
(24%)
(62%)
Complete Less Than One Year [9%]
Complete One Year [15%]
Complete Two or More Years [40%]
Nonparticipants
Tenth Grade
(80%)
(20%)
Complete High School [80%]
Do Not Complete High School [20%]
(61%)
(39%)
Enter PSE [49%]
Do Not Enter PSE [31%]
(18%)
(23%)
(59%)
Complete Less Than One Year [9%]
Complete One Year [11%]
Complete Two or More Years [29%]

Source: A Study of the National Upward Bound and Talent Search Programs: Evaluation Study of the Upward Bound Program, Research Triangle Institute, Research Triangle Park: North Carolina, 1976.

289. Upward Bound apparently influences the student's choice in postsecondary institutions. To the extent that entry into a four-year university or college is a desirable program outcome, Upward Bound has been successful in shaping the enrollment of its graduates. Upward Bound enrolls 15 percent more students in four-year institutions than are enrolled from the comparison group, and fewer Upward Bound students enter two-year colleges than those from the comparison group. Chart 6.5 details the characteristics of institutions Upward Bound students choose to enter.

CHART 6.5

KINDS OF INSTITUTIONS ATTENDED BY UPWARD BOUND PARTICIPANTS: AND COMPARISON GROUPS



Source: A Study of the National Upward Bound and Talent Search Programs: Evaluation Study of the Upward Bound Program, Research Triangle Institute, Research Triangle Park: North Carolina, 1976.

290. Upward Bound students apply for financial aid more frequently than the comparison group. About 88 percent of the Upward Bound students applied, while only 53 percent of the comparison students did so. Although the Upward Bound students did not receive more offers of aid, they do receive more adequate offers, generally in the form of a larger grant. The aid package received by the Upward Bound student totaled $1,685 on average with about 68 percent covered by grants. In contrast, the average comparison student received $1,224, of which 55 percent was in the form of grants. These findings suggest that Upward Bound successfully provides supportive advocacy and advisory services.

291. Data indicating whether or not Upward Bound students complete postsecondary education were not available. Initial followup results suggest that former Upward Bound participants experience difficulty in education progress due to poor high school preparation, family finances, and inadequate financial aid. USOE is analyzing the effects of Upward Bound participation upon the persistence in postsecondary programs; it is also looking at the relationship between program design and success in meeting program objectives; finally, it is examining the relationship between completion and the adequacy of financial aid packages.

292. Special Services. At this time, there is no conclusive information about the effects of Special Services upon participants. The USOE is presently undertaking a comprehensive evaluation of this program. Program data indicate, however, that the reasons students give for leaving Special Services projects are related to the achievement of satisfactory academic progress, the transfer to other institutions, or graduation.

293. In program year 1975-76, approximately 90,000 students participated in the Special Services program. Of this number, about 66,500 received supportive services for the entire period. Of those students leaving the program, about 5,800 showed adequate academic and personal adjustment and moved out of the program into the regular academic channels of the host institutions; about 5,800 graduated from the host institutions and about 2,000 left the host institutions to transfer to other colleges. Presumably these students were making satisfactory progress, or transfer would not have been possible.

294. Talent Search. Program data indicate that in the 1975-76 academic year about 47,000 clients were placed in postsecondary education, with an additional 29,000 accepted but not yet enrolled. Approximately 21,000 actual or potential dropouts were persuaded to return to school or college. Slightly more than 4,000 were enrolled in high school equivalency programs.

295. Based upon the reports of 100 of the 130 funded projects from July 1 through December 31 of 1976, approximately 6,100 actual or potential dropouts were persuaded to return to school or college. Nearly 1,200 clients were enrolled in high school equivalency programs. In addition, slightly more than 24,000 clients were placed in postsecondary education, with an additional 6,300 accepted, but not yet enrolled.

296. Among the initial enrollees in 1973, a higher percentage enrolled in private institutions than in public institutions, and a higher percent of those enrolling in four-year institutions tended to complete the first year than not to. These early findings led USOE officials to conclude that the program shows some success in motivating disadvantaged youth to attend postsecondary institutions. It also suggests that the Talent Search program has built useful and effective relations with those kinds of institutions likely to be responsive to the needs of the disadvantaged.

297. Educational Opportunity Centers. The impact of the Education Opportunity Centers upon students has not yet been measured.

298. Equality of opportunity in postsecondary education requires overcoming other obstacles in addition to the financial ones. The four Special Service programs are designed to encourage students to enter postsecondary education and to improve their academic performance once they have done so. Evaluation studies clearly indicate that Upward Bound improves the rate at which disadvantaged students enter postsecondary education. Whether the other Special Services programs successfully attain this goal, and whether all the Special Service programs successfully improve the persistence and performance of disadvantaged students once they enter postsecondary education will be determined by further evaluation.

CHAPTER VII

STUDENT FINANCIAL AID IN POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION

BACKGROUND

299. Federal involvement in need-based student financial aid for postsecondary education has a history dating back to the National Defense Education Act of 1958. This legislation authorized several programs to encourage improvement in the quality of program offerings at all levels of education and to increase the numbers of students entering scientific and technical fields. Among the programs was one called the National Defense Student Loan (NDSL) that provided loans to needy students who wanted to enter these fields but needed help to overcome financial barriers to postsecondary education.

300. For the seven years following enactment of NDSL, it served as the major Federal student assistance program excepting only the past-world war II program for military veterans (called the G.I. Bill). Between 1958 and 1965, the NDSL program grew in size from total lending of $30 million to $590 million, with annual Federal costs in 1965 of $130 million.

MAJOR PROGRAMS

301. Beginning in 1965, Federal aid to postsecondary education has undergone major growth and reorientation, expanding both the forms and magnitude of student aid.

302. The College Work-Study (CWS) program, designed to stimulate part-time employment of students with great financial need, was enacted as part of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The following year the enactment of the Higher Education Act created the Educational Opportunity Grant (EOG) Program, to provide nonrepayable grants to students of "exceptional financial need", and the Guaranteed Student Loan (GSL) Program, which authorized low interest loans to be made by lending institutions and insured by the Federal government. All these programs -- each to a varying extent -- limited eligibility or maximum benefits to the more needy students.

303. In 1972, the Congress once again completely revised the structure of student financial aid programs administered by the Office of Education, establishing the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant Program (BEOG) as the major program for youth from low-income families. Other programs included the Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants (a revision of the original EOG), which provided additional grants to supplement the BEOG; and the State Student Incentive Grants (SSIG), a program designed to encourage States to expand or develop programs of grant-aid to help students with substantial financial need. Unlike BEOG and the supplemental grants, which are completely Federally-funded, SSIG provides a 50-50 State/Federal match of funds spent by States, on a dollar-for-dollar basis.

304. The Basic Grants program is a direct Federal government-to-student program. SEOG, NDSL, and CWS are campus based, that is, the Federal government provides funds to institutions, which in turn allocate the aid to individuals. The FY 1980 appropriations for the campus based programs were $370 million, for SEOG, $300 million, for NDSL, and $550 million, for CWS. In the SSIG program, funds go to the States, and State agencies determine recipients and award amounts. The FY 1980 appropriation for SSIG was $76.75 million.

305. In addition to these need-based student aid efforts, there are a number of programs sponsored by the Federal government that are designed to provide scholarship or fellowship aid to populations generally identified as disadvantaged. Such grants are intended to raise the level of participation and representation of these special groups in particular courses of study. The programs include, among others, a program which provides fellowships to encourage and assist minority students to prepare for academic and other professional careers; a program of scholarships to individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds to undertake training for the legal profession; a program of fellowships to assist American Indian professional and graduate students in engineering, medicine, law, business, forestry, and related fields; and a program of grants to institutions with high enrollments of minority students to support the increase of minority representation in the field of biomedical research. The FY 1980 appropriations for all these programs combined totalled about $22.0 million.

306. Student financial aid for postsecondary education has been focused on providing, from a variety of sources, aid

packages designed to meet individual financial need situations without regard to minority status or chosen field of study. Aid for students can be tailored according to such factors as the cost of education at the institution selected by the student, the amount the student's family is expected to contribute, and the amount of funds available from scholarships and other sources of non-Federal aid. The program which is regarded as the foundation program on which the total aid package is built is the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant program. Because this program plays a key role in the total Federal strategy, the reminder of this chapter discusses it in more detail.

BASIC EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY GRANTS -- A CASE STUDY

CAPSULE DESCRIPTION

307. Since its establishment in 1973, BEOG has grown markedly in terms of budget allocations, number of participants, and the size of individual grants. There have been a number of regulatory and administrative changes in the program, but few changes in the basic authorizing legislation. The appropriation for BEOG has grown from $122.1 million in the 1973-74 academic year to $2.4 billion in academic year 1979-80. The number of recipients increased from 185,250 in 1973-74 to an estimated 2,700,000 in 1979-80. Individual grants ranged from $40 to $452 and averaged $269 in 1973-74, while by 1979-80 grants averaged $900.

308. Orginally, students were eligible to receive a grant who were enrolled on a full-time basis, with eligibility phased in for the first years of the program. By academic year 1975-76, eligibility was expanded to include students who were enrolled on at least a half-time basis.

PROGRAM GOALS

309. The overall purpose of the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant Program (BEOG), as with other student financial aid programs, is to enhance equal educational opportunity for disadvantaged people by helping them defray the costs of postsecondary education. Specifically, the BEOG is intended to provide a "floor" of financial aid. It is based on the individual financial need of the applicant determined by a calculation of the amount a family can contribute from the

family resources. This amount is then subtracted from the maximum BEOG (presently $1,800). Finally, the actual award is limited to half the total cost of education (tuition, fees, and $1,500 living expenses).

310. Since the final step in calculating the award brings in the costs of the specific institution, BEOGs can also broaden the range of college choices available to students by making higher cost institutions financially feasible. Up to the limit of $1,800, students receive larger awards if they choose higher cost institutions. The amount of financial aid a student could obtain in the late 60s and early 70s was often dependent on the type and location of the school, on the amount of funds available within the student's school, and on the particular procedures and policies of the school's financial aid office. BEOG was designed to provide financial aid which "followed" the student by adhering to a national policy encompassing all States and schools.

311. Eligibility for a BEOG is determined solely on the basis of financial need. There are no academic requirements for eligibility other than evidence of acceptance at an eligible postsecondary institution and maintenance of "satisfactory progress" (as defined by the institution) in the chosen course of study. Eligibility is limited to four years of undergraduate study, but may be extended to five years under special circumstances specified in the legislation.

PROGRAM SCOPE

312. The BEOG program affects students located in all States, the District of Columbia, the Territories, and outlying areas. Twenty-five percent of all undergraduate students enrolled in postsecondary education nationwide currently receive at least a minimum level of financial support through this program. Table 7.1 shows the growth in the BEOG budget from 1973. As Table 7.2 indicates, the growth of the program from 1973-74 to 1979-80 has been significant in terms of valid applicants, recipients, size of awards, and number of eligible institutions participating in the program.

TABLE 7.1

Funding History:

Year	Appropriation (millions)	Expenditure (millions)
1973	$ 122	50
1974	475	357
1975	660	937
1976	1,326	1,467
1977	1,904	1,569
1978	2,160	2,431
1979		1,955

TABLE 7.2

Recipients and Awards by Academic Year

	1973-74	1974-75	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78
Total Number of Valid Applications	482,331	1,114,084	2,178,696	3,408,718	3,621,641
Total Number of Recipients	185,249	573,403	1,228,034	1,765,793	1,894,984
Average Award	$ 269	$ 622	$ 763	$ 832	$ 827
Minimum Award	$ 50	$ 50	$ 200	$ 200	$ 200
Maximum Award	$ 452	$1,050	$1,400	$1,400	$1,400
Number of Eligible Institutions	5,372	5,807	6,238	6,640	6,650

313. Budget level increases for BEOGs over the past five years have permitted the program to serve an increasing number of students and to award larger individual grants. The average award has grown from $269 in 1973-74 to a $900 average award in 1979-80. Although the authorization level for BEOG has been left unspecified by the Congress, maximum award level and other requirements in the legislation control the level of program spending.

314. Part of the growth of the program is due to the gradual expansion of the range of students eligible to participate since 1973-74. Eligibility had been limited to full-time students until 1975-76, when half-time students were admitted to the program. Also in 1973, eligibility was limited to first-time students, with an additional class of enrollees becoming eligible each year thereafter. In 1976-77, for the first time, BEOGs were available to all eligible undergraduate students enrolled on at least a half-time basis between July 1, 1976, and June 30, 1977.

315. While most BEOG recipients are dependent students, there has been considerable growth in the number of eligible independent students receiving grants. An independent student is defined in program regulations as a student who: (1) is not claimed as an exemption on his parents' Federal income tax return for two years, (2) has not received more than $750 in support from his parents for two years, and (3) has not lived with his parents for more than six weeks for two years. In 1973-74, independent qualified applicants constituted 13.3 percent of all qualified applicants, and 38 percent by 1977-78.

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

316. Basic Requirements. The formal legal framework for the BEOG program consists of the authorizing legislation, Title IV-A-1 of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended, the regulations, the Annual Family Contribution Schedule, and the annual BEOG Payment and Disbursement Schedule. The informal framework includes appropriate portions of OE's Student Financial Aid Handbook and a monthly newsletter which is distributed to all institutional financial aid officers, fiscal officers, and presidents.

317. The Congress has established basic requirements for the operation of the program in the authorizing legislation and subsequent amendments, and also exercises oversight through annual review of a Family Contribution Schedule (FCS), the specifications of the amount a family is expected to contribute to a student's postsecondary education.

318. Annual criteria for the Family Contribution Schedule are specified in the legislation which requires the Secretary to take into account such indicators of family financial strength as parental and student income, assets, family size, number of family members in postsecondary education, educational expenses of other dependent students, special educational benefits the student receives from Social Security and the Veterans Administration, and any special expenses incurred, such as unusual medical expenses. The expected family contribution for a given year is based on family financial strength for the year preceding application for a BEOG. Separate formulas are used for dependent and independent students.

319. Other basic provisions established by the Congress include:

- The maximum award for an individual in 1979-80 is $1,800. The minimum award is $200 if the program is fully funded. If it is not fully funded, the minimum is $50.
- Payments cannot exceed one-half the actual cost of attendance, which includes tuition and fees, books and supplies, room and board, and a personal allowance.
- If sufficient funds are not available to fully fund all entitlements, student grants are to be reduced according to a specified pro rata formula. In no case will an award of less than $50 be made.
- Institutions must establish eligibility to participate in the program. The criteria for institutional eligibility are defined by the statute and include such factors as legal authorization to provide a program beyond secondary school, recognition as an accredited institution, meeting certain minimum standards of administrative capability and fiscal responsibility.
- In order to be eligible for a BEOG, a student must maintain "satisfactory progress" in an eligible program of study. Satisfactory progress is determined by the institution.

320. The Secretary is authorized to set application deadlines, to determine what information and assurances are to be required of applicants, to establish the basic payment schedule, and to promulgate other regulations as necessary to operate the program.

321. Award Procedures. The award process occurs in three stages. The student must first establish eligibility with the Federal government. Second, the award must be calculated according to school costs and the student's enrollment status. Third, payment is made to the student. An award is made for one year, provided the student maintains eligibility, and students must reapply each year for additional awards. Application filing dates are determined by the Secretary, and publicized widely.

PROGRAM RESULTS [1]

322. The effectiveness of the Basic Grant program can be thought of in terms of its impact on the structure of

educational opportunity faced by students and potential students of differing incomes, and associated changes in postsecondary education participation behavior of eligible students. In addition, any large scale program such as Basic Grants is likely to have important, but not necessarily intended, side effects on the distribution of educational opportunity and participation for the educational sectors, and on the distributions of other grant assistance.

323. Participation. The effect of grant programs in general and Basic Grants in particular on the participation of young people in postsecondary education is not known with any certainty. Over time, many changes have taken place. As a result it is difficult to interpret the available facts, and impossible to attribute causal relationships. College participation rates by family income (in constant 1967 dollars) for persons 18 to 24 years old show a clear pattern of decline over the 1969-75 period. This is somewhat disconcerting in view of the fact that Office of Education student financial aid programs were growing at an average annual rate of about 20 percent over this period. However, this should not be taken as evidence that OE programs were not having an important impact on college-going decisions. The range of decline was from less than four percent for the less-than-$6,000 income group to over 25 percent for the $25,000-plus income group. This evidence, is consistent with the hypothesis that aid programs had a dramatic participation-rate impact since the principal focus of this aid has been on low-income students. Moreover, at least a temporary reversal of the longer term trend of declining participation rates occurred toward the end of this period, between 1974 and 1975. In all but the highest income group ($25,000+), participation rates increased from 1974 to 1975, with the largest increases (15+ percent) occurring within the lowest income categories. While there is no basis for inferring a causal relationship, this change coincided with the major expansion of not only the Basic Grant program but all of the Federal student aid programs as well.

324. Distribution of Basic Grant Recipients by Sex, Minority Status, and Income. Basic Grant program data and recent Higher Education Panel (HEP) Survey results for the 1976-77 academic year indicate that the BEOG program is generally assisting equality of access and choice for students from families with low incomes, who are minority, and who are female.

325. Table 7.3 shows the percent of black 18- to 24-year-old dependent family members by income enrolled in college in 1970 and 1976. While a causal relationship between the distribution of Basic Grants and the remarkable increase in participation rates displayed in this table cannot be precisely stated, the data imply that financing has become less of a problem.

326. Table 7.4 shows the percentage distribution of BEOG recipients by income, type, control, and dependency status for academic year 1976-77. As expected, the percentage of BEOGs recipients declines with income for all institutional types. However, in two-year institutions the percentage in the lowest income category is substantially greater than that at four-year institutions. This is no doubt related to the fact that higher income students may qualify for a BEOG if they attend a relatively high cost school whereas they might not qualify at a lower cost institution. Moreover, lower income students are generally more likely to attend two-year schools. Another interesting feature of these data is the prominence of independent students in two-year public schools.

327. Finally, the HEP Survey indicates that the percentage distribution by sex of BEOG recipients in all institutions is such that females are substantially more likely to receive a BEOG than males.

TABLE 7.3

Percent of Black 18- to 24-year-old Dependent
Family Members Enrolled in College,
By Income: 1970 and 1976

Family Income (1967 Dollars	Percent Enrolled 1970	1976	Percentage Change 1970 to 1976
Under $3,000	15.2	20.2	32.9
$3,000-$4,999	19.4	22.1	13.9
$5,000-$7,499	25.5	33.9	32.9
$7,500-$9,999	31.4	40.3	28.3
$10,000 or more	35.9	53.2	48.2

TABLE 7.4

Characteristics of Participants in the Basic Opportunity Grant Program, by Type and Control of Institution, 1976-77 (In percentage)

				Public Institutions	
Characteristics	Total All Institutions	Total	Two-Year	Four-Year	University
Dependent Undergraduates Family Income					
Less than $7,500	43.5	43.7	44.9	44.5	39.3
$7,500 - $11,999	19.6	18.3	14.7	20.1	23.6
$12,000 or more	11.9	10.7	7.2	12.8	15.2
Independent Undergraduates	24.9	27.3	33.1	22.6	21.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
				Private Institutions	
Dependent Undergraduates Family Income					
Less than $7,500		43.4	51.3	42.0	44.2
$7,500 - $11,999		24.7	25.9	24.7	24.0
$12,000 or more		16.4	11.4	16.2	21.3
Independent Undergraduates		15.5	11.3	17.3	10.5
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

328. Effect of Basic Grants on the Distribution of State Student Financial Aid. The existence of the Basic Grants Program has apparently also had an impact on the operation of State student aid programs and on the distribution of awards under these programs. These programs include the Federally shared SSIG program. Twenty-three States and Territories report that they require a Basic Grant application as a condition for receiving a State award. Twenty-two States and Territories calculate potential BEOG awards and add these to the resources of aid applicants when calculating the State's own award. In addition, several States report that the role that Basic Grants has played in relieving the financial burdens of low-income students has enabled them to shift their own resources to aid students further up the income distribution.

329. Ongoing and Planned Evaluation Studies. The Office of Education has recently funded a set of four major national studies which will assess the impact of Federal financial aid on students, postsecondary institutions, and State governments. One study is assessing the impact of Federal and State financial aid programs and policies on the choices made by students. Another of the studies is examining the way in which market conditions (and perceptions of them) interact with educational costs and financial aid to influence access to postsecondary institutions. A third study is examining the role of financial aid in student persistence in postsecondary education. The fourth study is examining the relationship between Federal and State student aid programs and institutional practices in recruiting and admitting students and dispensing financial aid. Preliminary findings from these studies were included in the effectiveness section above.

330. Another major study of Basic Grants and other OE student financial aid programs will examine how the management and operation of these programs affect the structure of financial aid opportunities, the level and distribution of participation in postsecondary education, and the efficiency of student aid delivery.

Chapter VIII

EDUCATIONAL PERSONNEL DEVELOPMENT

BACKGROUND

331. Prior to enactment of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, almost all Federal involvement in teacher education was conducted under the authority of Vocational Education and Education of the Handicapped legislation. The role of Federal involvement was limited to providing inservice education for teachers in these fields. Passage of NDEA created authority for short term institutes that provided training for teachers already working in areas such as mathematics, foreign language, science, reading, and history, as well as some institutes on teaching the handicapped and the disadvantaged. Around the mid-1960s, the nation was facing a teacher shortage, especially in areas serving concentrations of low-income children. Debate over the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 pointed to the fact that many teachers were not sensitive to the special needs of low-income children and that this group was not receiving quality educational services in many schools. Special training for teachers was considered as a remedy.

332. Based on the success of the Peace Corps, Vista, and a 1964 experimental program at Cardozo Senior High School in Washington, D. C., there were moves in the Congress to establish a "National Teacher Corps." In the Cardozo program, returned Peace Corps volunteers were working in classrooms with disadvantaged children while pursuing masters' degrees at Washington, D. C.'s Howard University. Nationwide, the proposed Teacher Corps would provide an opportunity for American young adults to dedicate themselves to the education of America's disadvantaged children while at the same time pursuing training for careers in education. The original concept was proposed as an amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965 and was intended to be the training arm of Title I, ESEA, but was deferred until consideration of the Higher Education Act later that year. In July of 1965, President Johnson also announced his support for the creation of a Teacher Corps, and the idea became law in that same year.

333. In 1967, a bill was introduced in the Congress that placed Teacher Corps under the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA). EPDA was intended to bring together the existing resources of OE to attack the teacher shortage. While most programs in EPDA were designed to support "advanced training"

of existing teachers in general, Teacher Corps was the primary vehicle for recruiting new teachers and training them to meet the needs of the disadvantaged.

MAJOR PROGRAMS

334. During this period of legislative change and policy redirection for educational personnel development, the Congress was also establishing the programs designed to meet the educational needs of the disadvantaged (Title I, Head Start, etc.). Each of these programs authorized funds for staff development. It is important to distinguish, however, between these authorities and the Teacher Corps. Most provisions aim at short-term inservice training specifically (1) to enhance the success of a local project through the development of the project's educational personnel by preservice and advanced training in a particular content area, such as bilingual education, or (2) to serve specialized populations, such as the physically handicapped or American Indians. The Teacher Corps, on the other hand, was aimed at bringing about fundamental changes in educational personnel development programs.

335. A recent priority of U.S. Office of Education has been the establishment of a National Teacher Development Initiative. One of the tasks of the Initiative was to survey existing Office of Education programs and catalog instances of support for educational personnel development. The survey revealed that 22 USOE programs provide a total of approximately $500 million annually for professional development of educational personnel. Of those 22 programs, three have a specific mandate to focus on schools serving the needs of children from low-income families: Teacher Corps, Bilingual Education, and Title I, ESEA. These funds amounted to about $274.5 million in FY 1978.

336. Four programs reported funds exclusively addressed to the professional development of individual educational personnel serving specific "disadvantaged" groups: Indians, other minority groups, and the physically and mentally handicapped. These funds are used for fellowships, particularly for the professional development of personnel to work with American Indians and in bilingual education, and the project-focused, inservice training in vocational education.

337. The largest training effort for the economically "disadvantaged" is the project-focused, inservice training in Title I, ESEA. Although these data are only estimated, approximately $200 million of Title I funds were spent in FY 1978 for this purpose. However, educational personnel development is a secondary purpose in Title I. When these Title I funds are divided

up among all of the 14,000 school districts operating Title I projects, it is apparent that the amount available and used is, on average, quite small.

338. For professional training to serve the needs of children from low-income families, the basic and most cohesive U.S. program is the Teacher Corps. A summary description is given the following pages, and the full case study in an appendix.

TEACHER CORPS: A SUMMARY DESCRIPTION

339. Other programs under various authorities had been enacted to provide special purpose, short-term inservice training for people who were already teachers. The initial Teacher Corps intent was different: to recruit people who were not already teachers, and to provide training that would produce teachers who were sensitive and responsive to special needs of poor children. The training included preservice, inservice and advanced levels, but the main emphasis was to be on recruitment and preservice.

340. The Teacher Corps program makes project grants of up to five years for collaborative projects to a local educational agency and an institution of higher education (IHE). Each project is based in a particular community, and must include a representative community council as part of the governance structure. State education agencies can be joint grantees, but the emphasis is on the community in which the project operates and the school that serves that community, in partnership with the IHE. Four basic outcomes are expected to result from each project:

1) an improved school climate for learning for low-income children;

2) an improved educational professional teaching experience for people who will serve in schools with many low-income pupils;

3) continuation of the educational improvements after the end of the Federal funding period;

4) extension of the improvements to other educational agencies and institutions.

341. Through 1978, it was estimated that the more than 600 projects that were funded in the Teacher Corps' 13-year existence had trained about 9100 teacher interns and a like number of inservice teachers. Annual funding levels since 1973 have been at $37 million.

342. In the grant application process, a local school system and a teacher training institution jointly apply for funding for a project they define, to be located in one or more of the schools in the local district. Applications submitted to the Teacher Corps for funding must have the approval of the SEA and the LEA Board prior to submission. An elementary school, to be eligible as a Teacher Corps project site, must be eligible for services under Title I of the ESEA.

343. Each project is governed by a policy board that includes the dean of the school of education of the IHE, the superintendent of schools of the LEA, and the chairperson of the community council, the required advisory body that represents parents and other residents of the school community.

344. Once a grant has been approved, the program operates rather independently. It submits yearly reports as agreed under the terms of the grant award, and there are periodic site visits by Federal project monitors. The Teacher Corps renews grants for second and subsequent years based on the availability of funds and on project effectiveness in terms of meeting goals. Funds are used for salaries of project directors, stipends for teacher interns (and dependents), compensation for the experienced teachers who serve as team leaders, and released time for staff development. The LEA must pay at least ten percent of the cost of compensation of its Teacher Corps staff.

345. Federal technical assistance is provided to Teacher Corps projects through site visits, through an orientation program held annually for new teacher interns and project directors, and through information dissemination projects. Five models for training have been documented for replication. Instructional materials developed by the local projects are disseminated through Federal networks.

346. Evaluation of the Teacher Corps has been difficult. Findings in studies of program performance nationally have been inconclusive because of the changes over time of the goals of the program. Policies being evaluated had already been changed before the evaluations were complete, and study designs relied on small samples.

347. Initially, the teacher interns had been seen as change agents, but as more was learned about the change process, the focus of change agent activity was shifted to regular teachers and established institutions. In terms of recruiting highly motivated people into teaching, the Teacher Corps has been successful. The intern group includes a high proportion of

of nonwhite ethnic minority persons. Most interns remain in the field of education, and many receive state certification as teachers.

348. But the conflicting roles of change-agent and service-provider have taken their toll. Some interns tended to become radicalized out of the teaching profession as a result of the failure either to effect change or to be assimilated by the system.

349. Children in school communities with Teacher Corps projects were found to benefit from more individualized and small-group instruction, and the school communities enjoyed more non-instructional services as well as new techniques for instruction.

350. Generally speaking, the projects have not brought about significant systemic change with lasting impact on the LEAs or their college and university counterparts. Nevertheless, the projects are perceived as valuable by the communities involved. Each year, nearly sixty percent of new applications are from LEA-IHE partnerships that have just completed a project.

351. The current program design is being evaluated over a several-year period in four tasks: (1) local project documentation and local evaluations of individual projects; (2) a national outcome assessment featuring cross-site analyses; (3) a series of special project studies; and (4) an evaluation of quantitative and qualitative data to address policy questions. The extent to which lasting change in teacher education is occurring as a result of the Teacher Corps strategies and projects is still under study.

PART THREE

A COMPREHENSIVE LOOK

CHAPTER IX

COMMON THEMES

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

352. An examination of the programs discussed in Chapters III-VIII reveals that the specific goals of the current array of Federal programs for disadvantaged children and youth did not emerge in a carefully planned way. The totality of the effort is the result of many independent actions by a variety of Congressional committees, individuals, court decisions, interest groups, and Presidential administrations occurring over a period of about 25 years. Despite diverse origins, there is remarkable comprehensiveness in the collection of policies that emerged.

353. The common theme among the programs reviewed is the provision of supplemental assistance by the Federal government to children and young people from low-income families or from geographic areas with concentrations of low-income families, often accompanied by requirements to include parents of the recipients and/or representative community members in the advisory groups that have some planning responsibility for the program.

The Climate of Opinion and Policy Change

354. Educational policy decisions in the United States are guided by the prevailing climate of opinion of groups concerned with those issues. These include local, State, and Federal policymakers, administrators and service-providers, as well as social scientists and researchers. There appear to have been at least three shifts in the climate of opinion since the early 1960s. At first, people believed that more resources, particularly aimed at very young children, would help to compensate for environmental or background deficiencies. In a second phase, it became clear that more resources alone were not the answer and there was disenchantment regarding the effect school had on equalizing opportunity. There was also a popular conviction that Federal programs were having little or no impact even on the short-range objectives of raising achievement levels of the disadvantaged. In the third and most recent phase, many observers feel that the programs are beginning to show some positive results but that schools have become overburdened with a wide range of social and ancillary responsibilities to the detriment of student mastery of basic academic skills.

355. One of the most significant characteristics of the debate has been its conservative effect on policy change. Most of the actual changes and refinements in Federal educational policy have occurred in small increments over an extended period following the introduction of major new programs in the decade of the 1960s. Although the efficacy of programs was challenged, basic goals and purposes of programs were not changed. Programs continued, funds generally increased (sometimes marginally, but they were not cut drastically or eliminated), and some new programs emerged.

356. Experience in implementing programs brought out many intricate and complex problems regarding the educational needs of the disadvantaged that were not evident before. Education is seen to be a necessary though not solely sufficient condition for realizing equality and fairness. As a result, the incremental changes in policy have been directed toward increasing the efficiency of existing programs so that what is done through education is done as effectively as possible.

Coordination with Non-School Learning Environments

357. Among the useful approaches to understanding the goals and expectations of the policies is through review of the extent to which the efforts are coordinated with -- or isolated from -- other people and environments that affect the learning of children. The different programs exhibit considerable diversity with respect to this question. The extent of interaction between project activities and the parents, home, and community varies considerably according to the local situation, whether or not such interaction is required under the program.

358. Parent Involvement. There are two aspects of Federal policy with regard to parent involvement in education programs. As noted earlier, the initial development of Federal policies generally focused on self-help strategies. Many educators felt that the disadvantaged knew what their needs were and felt that, if given the opportunity and resources, they could in most instances improve their own situations. Requirements for parental involvement (basically for accountability purposes) were enacted into legislation. Parents became involved in an administrative/advisory manner through Parent Advisory Councils (PAC) that were representative of parents, participants, and the community in which children were being served. Another type of parent involvement occurred through actual participation of parents in the learning activities and the instruction of their children.

359. Of the programs reviewed, Head Start, ESEA Title I, and Teacher Corps require parent administrative/advisory involvement. Parent involvement is also required in other programs, such as Bilingual Education, at the elementary and secondary levels. There is little emphasis placed on parent involvement in Vocational Education Programs and more in the Special Programs for Disadvantaged Students.

360. Head Start also requires substantial participation by parents in the second type of involvement noted above. Not only are parents encouraged to support and reinforce the learning activities of their children during the project experience, but also efforts are made to train parents to continue the techniques, expectations, and close association with their child's development after the project experience ends.

361. Community Involvement. Community involvement also follows the two basic models noted above for parent involvement. The administrative/advisory role of community representatives is strong, particularly at the preschool and early elementary levels. At the secondary level the involvement of the community, business, and labor is also strong in the vocational education programs where there is a mandate to coordinate program planning with local manpower needs, job opportunities and changing technology.

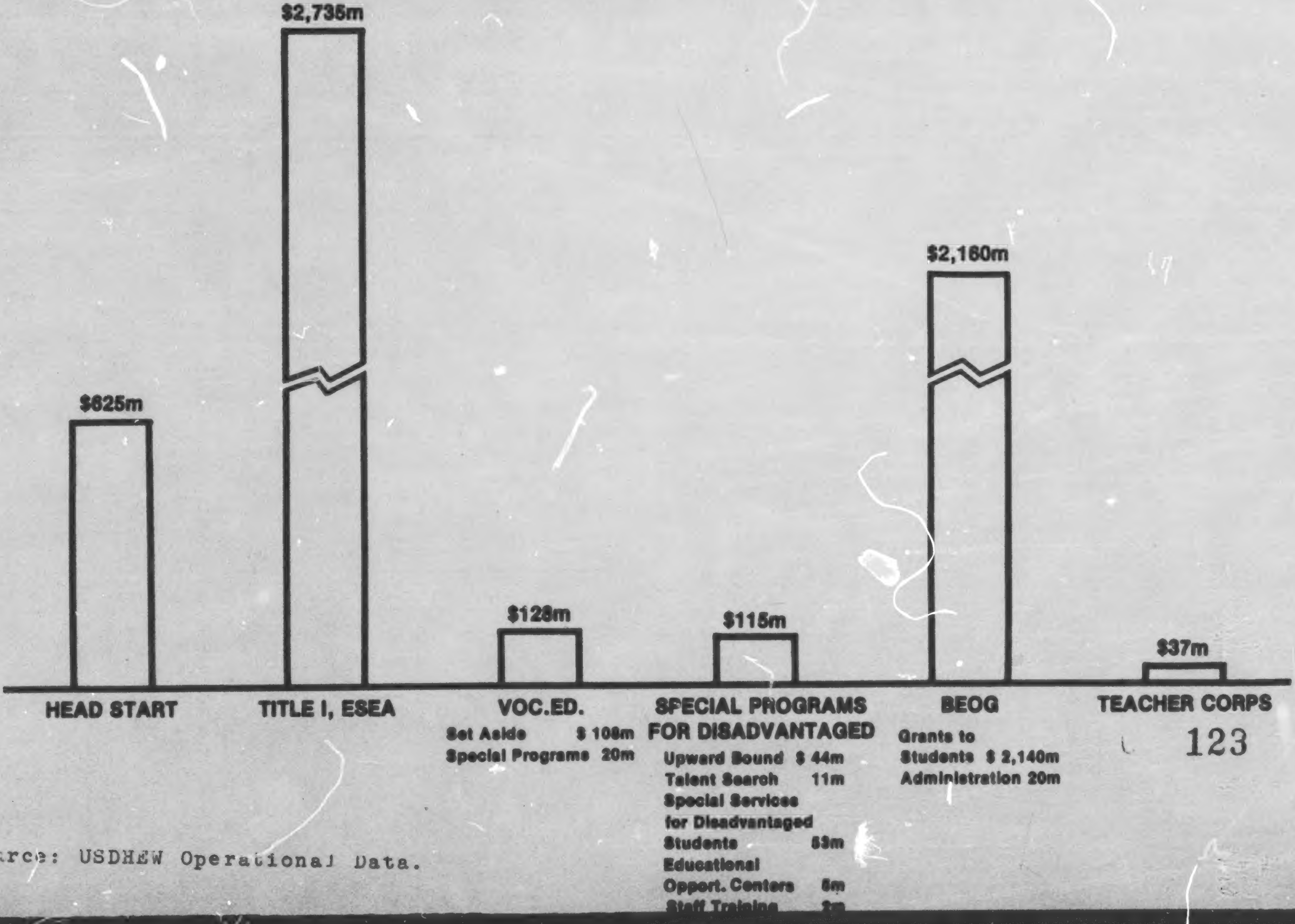
362. There is little evidence that Federal programs up to now have stimulated greater use of community resources in actual learning activities for disadvantaged children and youth. This is particularly true at the secondary school level where youth, soon to enter the adult world, are mostly kept isolated from that world. A number of studies over the past few years have pointed to this fact and have called for closer involvement between secondary schools and the community as a means of aiding the transition of youth from school to the working world.[1]

Budget Policy

363. While philosophical consistency and programmatic diversity are evident in the composite, the ultimate consensus can be measured by the extent of support through actual expenditures. Once a program as extensive as ESEA, Title I, is implemented, it takes on a life of its own and is not likely to be eliminated or sharply reduced. The initial form and mechanisms incorporated in a program have much to do with subsequent budget levels and growth. There is wide variance in FY 1978 budget levels for the specific programs discussed in this report (see Figure 9.1). It cannot be assumed that this range of funding levels represents a

Figure 9.1

Fiscal Year 1978 Funding Levels
Ten Federal Programs for the Disadvantaged



Source: USDHEW Operational Data.

conscious, overall strategy for allocation of Federal funds for education of the disadvantaged. There was no pre-planned strategy. Each of these programs was legislated by the Congress for different primary purposes and at different times, but always to meet what was understood to be a need of the disadvantaged. This distribution of funds depicted in Figure 9.1 reflects the priorities of the Federal effort for that year, as affected by that legislative and funding history. By far the heaviest financial support went to direct compensatory education services (ESEA, Title I) for elementary and secondary schools in areas of concentrations of low-income families, and to the provision of direct student financial aid (BEOG) to overcome personal financial barriers to postsecondary education.

364. The historical growth of program appropriations also shows wide variations. While some program appropriations have grown dramatically since their inception, such as Title I and BEOG, others have grown only slightly.

365. Budget Themes. There is reasonable consistency in the role of the Federal government in pursuing the concept of fairness in education. A consistent strand running throughout these Federal budget policies is the supplementary nature of Federal efforts. Public, private, and individual resources are used in providing early childhood education services. At the elementary/secondary level, the basic responsibility for financing public education resides with State and local governments. Pursuit of postsecondary education is generally considered a matter of individual choice and responsibility, but Federal assistance may be provided to give disadvantaged students freer choice than would be possible otherwise.

366. Another characteristic of budget policy has been the categorical or targeted nature of programs implementing Federal policies, as opposed to general aid. The policies are not to provide general, ongoing support for individuals. Rather, the intent is to provide assistance on a short-range basis at various levels of the educational process. Neither is Federal assistance intended as general aid for schools or institutions. Although the rules under which an individual becomes eligible for participation differ between programs, the basic and consistent intent is to target specific categories of services to specific categories of needy recipients.

367. Budget Priorities. The extent to which the separate pieces of the composite are supported in the budget shows considerable diversity. ESEA, Title I, and Head Start taken together are the highest education budget priority ($3,360 million).[2] This priority reflects the primary emphasis in in the composite which has been placed on intervention at the preschool/early grade levels to compensate for what were

understood to be disparities between the strengths called for by the education system and the strengths which disadvantaged children bring to it.

368. The second budget priority, BEOG ($2,160 million), stands as evidence of the belief that access to postsecondary education and choice of institution should not be impeded by personal financial deficiency.

369. As a third budget priority, and far below the first two, the Vocational Education Act ($106 million) and Special Programs for Disadvantaged Students ($115 million) encourage youth either to complete general secondary school or a vocational education program as preparation for entry into the labor market or the pursuit of postsecondary education.

370. Finally, as a fourth priority, educational personnel who work with disadvantaged children are provided special training through Teacher Corps ($37.5 million) to bring about the change and improvement underlying the major goal.

WHO ARE TO BE SERVED?

371. In reviewing the array of current policies it becomes evident that there are many facets to the term disadvantaged. Policies and their attendant programs are aimed at a wide range of target groups and individuals, all included under this general term.

The Causes of "Disadvantagement"

372. There has been an abundance of inquiry and writing since the early 1960s directed to pinpointing the characteristics of disadvantagement in United States society.[3] The most commonly held opinion is that being disadvantaged results from several different social and environmental conditions. These conditions engender a lack of success in schooling which in turn contributes to marginal social and financial status in adult life.

373. It was generally believed in the early 1950s that educational disadvantage was strongly related to low socioeconomic status (SES) group membership, particularly minorities. The Coleman Report confirmed, with substantial data, that this belief was well founded. Other studies have continued to support the relationships between failure in school and low socioeconomic status, even apart from minority group membership. Isolation of the exact causes continues to elude educators and social scientists. Theories range from "cultural deficiency," to variance in stages of learning and the inability of the schools to adjust to this diversity among children, to the existence of caste systems in the United States.

The Poverty Relationship

374. Policy and program standards of the mid-1960s prescribed specific economic eligibility standards for the allocation and disbursement of funds. The economic criterion was an absolute that could be measured nationwide. Other eligibility standards were also employed to identify the individuals who would receive services. However, many of these criteria, e.g., "culturally deprived," are difficult to measure in a standardized way. The basic premise of all the eligibility criteria is belief in the relationship of economic need to lack of success in the educational process and the prospects for improving the quality of adult life.

375. The further eligibility criteria in various programs encompassed all three facets of economic deprivation: area poverty, group poverty, and individual poverty. For example, early influence on program development in Head Start and ESEA, Title I, followed two different paths. Head Start was originally conceived within the community action strategy. It was assumed that since the Community Action Agencies (CAAs) were organized on the basis of group or area economic need, Head Start activities of CAAs would naturally focus on low SES children. It was several years later, in the 1970s, that low *individual* income status was required for participation in the program.

376. Title I, on the other hand, represented a major new direction and Federal role in education. Precise formulations regarding the extent and nature of poverty to be addressed were incorporated into the program from the outset. When proposing the legislation, policymakers envisioned a program operating through the public schools and affecting most school districts in the nation, but aimed primarily at pockets of economic deprivation within local districts.

377. In a statement made in 1965, before the Senate Subcommittee on Education of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, former Education Commissioner Francis Keppel detailed the Administration's intention to establish a basic formula grant of funds, allocated on the basis of income, with $2,000 annual income as the poverty standard. In testimony, he acknowledged that this standard was very conservative and would serve to identify an unquestioned hard core of poverty.[4] The exact formula for distributing funds to LEAs would be based on the number of impoverished children in the area and other factors such as per pupil expenditure.[5] Once the money was allocated by formula to

the community and specific schools with the highest concentrations of poverty, the criterion for individual participation in a program shifted to one of educational disadvantage. In other words, economic criteria were used to calculate the level of funding each State, district, or school received; academic criteria were then used for identifying individual students to be served.

378. Commissioner Keppel also cited studies showing a high correlation between family income and achievement in schools.[6] Under questioning by the Committee, he acknowledged that while the low-income status of children was not always the factor giving rise to poor achievement in school, poverty had proved an acceptable predictor, that national data sources on income status allowed for equitable distribution of funds throughout the nation down to the county level, and that poverty status was an effective measure of educational deprivation.[7]

379. However, the strong positive correlation between poverty and low achievement does not mean that most low achievers are also economically poor. Since there are many more nonpoor children in the population than there are poor children, it is not altogether surprising that almost 67 percent of the low achievers are not poor. Eighteen percent of the nation's children are classified as poor but 33 percent of the low achievers are poor. Thus, poor children constitute a disproprotionate percent of the low achievers.

The Mix of Criteria

380. Even though the most consistent policy emphasis concern in the case-study programs is for remedying the educational effects of economic deprivation, the degree to which personal low-income status is tied to actual participation in programs varies considerably. The mix of categorical standards is shown in operation in the case studies. It is clear that the poverty standard comes into play based on economic conditions in geographic areas, as well as group or individual economic situations. In most cases, eligibility criteria for a program include combinations of all these conditions. In Table 9.2, eligibility criteria for the various programs are compared.

Coverage of Eligible Population

381. Although many individuals are eligible to participate in the programs, the actual extent to which all those eligible are reached with services varies considerably. The extent of coverage involves both budget considerations and policy decisions regarding the mechanism of program funds allocation. A formula grant entitlement program would be more likely to reach larger numbers of eligible disadvantaged students than would a competitive grant program. For example,

Table 9.2

Eligibility Requirements of Federal Programs for the Disadvantaged

Criteria	Head Start	ESEA, Title I	Voc. Ed. for the Disadvantaged	SPDS	BEOG	Teacher Corps
			AREA			
Concentration of low-income families	P	R	P	P - UB, TS, SSDS R - EOC		R
High unemployment			P		NA	
Economically Depressed Area			P			
			GROUP PREFERENCE/SET ASIDE			
Low-income Family	R	R		R - UB, 2/3 TS P - SSDS		
Migrant		R S			NA	
N&D/Correctional Facility		R S	P			R
Indian	R S	R S	R			R
Handicapped	R S	R S	R			
Limited English-speaking	P		P			
			INDIVIDUAL			
Low-income	R		R' S	R - UB ,R'-TS	R	
Culturally Deprived				R' - TS		
Demonstrated Need for Remedial work		R	R' S	R - SSDS		
Linguistic handicap	P			P - SSDS		
Academic Potential				R - UB, TS, SSDS	R	
School dropout			P			
Inadequate Secondary schooling				R - UB, TS		

R - Required, P - Priority Given, S - Set aside, NA - Not Applicable, R' - Either/Or Required the BEOG program is truly nationwide, since the grant is made directly from the Federal government to the student to use at an eligible institution of postsecondary education anywhere in the United States. Funds for some programs are distributed by a prescribed formula to States for use in all local districts that are eligible. Others go to project sites on the basis of national competition.

382. Title I is the basic formula grant program which has been reviewed. In FY 1976 about 90 percent of the school districts in the United States participated in the program, with larger amounts of funds going to districts with the largest number of children from poverty families. Within LEAs, funds are targeted to those schools that serve the highest concentrations of low-income families.

383. The vocational education programs also distribute funds to States based on a formula. However, within a State, LEAs compete for a specific 20 percent set-aside for the disadvantaged and for the monies in the Special Services for Disadvantaged Students. These funds are targeted to geographic areas of greatest need within a State; the LEAs that receive grants must identify the individuals to be served.

384. All of the other case-study programs are funded through competitive grants. Federal staffs often distribute the grants with some concern for distribution among States, mostly as a matter of equity. However, due to the relatively low levels of funding, none of these programs is able to place a project in all of the local areas that need projects or that apply for them. It should be noted that one of the programs, Teacher Corps, is a demonstration program, and its intent is not to provide ongoing services to a given LEA or to an institution of higher education. Head Start and the Special Services for Disadvantaged Students cluster of programs are service programs, and grant recipients are frequently continuations or repeating projects. These include local sites that applied for and received grants in the earliest years of the operation of the program.

385. The extent to which each of the programs is able to reach the intended recipients varies considerably (See Table 9.3). The BEOG program provides some level of grant to all students who apply and who meet the eligibility criteria. The coverage of eligibles depends largely upon students knowing about the program and being motivated to submit an application.

386. Title I estimates that 67 percent of the children who need such services and are located in eligible schools are in fact served. Such pervasive coverage can probably be accounted for as the outcome of several factors, including a

TABLE 9.3. Program Coverage of Eligible Participants

Program	Funds Allocation Policy	# Served in FY 1976 [1]	% of Eligibles Served
HEAD START	Competitive Grant	349,000	15% FY 1977 [2]
ESEA, TITLE I	Formula Grant to State (LEA Entitlement)	appxoximately 6 million	approximately 67% [3] of children in eligible Title I schools FY 1976
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED	Formula to State—within State Competition	2,078 Million	Unknown
SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR THE DISAD-VANTAGED	Competitive Grant	U.B. - 41,334* T.S. - 110,982 SSDS - 93,452 EOC - 79,150	U.B. & T.S. 3.6%[4] (1973-74) SSDS - Unknown EOC - Unknown
BEOG	Direct Individual Grant (Entitlement)	1,945,454 Academic Year 1976-77	All who qualify and submit valid applications
TEACHER CORPS	Competitive Grant	Estimate 700,000[5] Children Affected	About 50% of applicants

[1] Program operational data
[2] Program estimate
[3] NIE Study
[4] USOE estimate
[5] Program estimate

* UB - Upward Bound
TS - Talent Search
SSDS - Special Services for Disadvantaged Students
EOC - Educational Opportunity Centers

formula basis for funds distribution, the high level of funding, and the fact that LEAs do not compete for funds. Head Start, on the other hand, estimates that only 15-21 percent of children who need early intervention and assistance are actually reached. Theoretically, most IHEs and LEAs that operate training programs for educational personnel and that have a Title I program in the LEA would be eligible to receive a grant from Teacher Corps. The Teacher Corps program, however, only approves grants for about 50 percent of the applicants each year, again because of budget limitations.

387. It is difficult to estimate the eligible populations for SPDS and the Vocational Education programs for the disadvantaged. The U.S. Office of Education has estimated that for two of the SPDS programs, Upward Bound and Talent Search, approximately 3.6 percent of the potential eligible group is actually served. There are no current data on the eligible target population for vocational education programs for the disadvantaged.

Summary: Target Populations

388. The most consistent definition associated with the disadvantaged is some degree of economic need. Programs use economic need as a criterion for individual, group, or area eligibility to receive services. Economic deprivation is a common criterion for participation in most of the compensatory programs, but other social characteristics may carry equal or more weight in final selection of program participants. The extent to which the various categories of individuals are reached and served varies considerably and depends to a great extent on the type of funds-allocation policy adopted for the program.

HOW ARE POLICIES IMPLEMENTED?

389. The management strategies for implementing programs for the disadvantaged show a great deal of diversity across those discussed in this report. Most of the programs identified in this report are service programs. They are intended to provide a particular service to a given population with special reference to innovative or experimental concepts or techniques. Of the case studies presented, only Teacher Corps is a demonstration program. There are many other demonstration programs which were not used as case studies, particularly programs at the elementary and secondary level aimed at special populations, such as Indian education, bilingual education, programs for various sub-groups of the physically and mentally handicapped.

Funds-Allocation and Grants Mechanisms

390. As previously discussed, there are various grant mechanisms and funds-allocation policies evident in the different case-study programs. They include competitive grants, proportional set-asides, formula grants, entitlements to individuals, and loans. Policy decisions regarding funds-allocation mechanisms seem to relate to the special circumstances under which a program was started.

391. Programs such as Head Start and Upward Bound, which originated in the community action strategy, were consistent with the management strategy that required local design and proposal of activities to the Federal government by Community Action Agencies (CAAs), with funding based on a competitive grant approach. Establishing such a system of competitive grants for a program of scarce resources was perhaps the most logical and equitable approach, since the number and quality of applications could not be accurately estimated in advance.

392. Vocational education monies specifically for the disadvantaged were established as a mandated percentage set-aside from the overall State grant distributed by formula. Since the intent of the set-aside has been to provide for those children in greatest need, the States were required to distribute the funds on a selective basis within the State.

393. Title I, on the other hand, was designed from the outset to be nationwide program aimed at educationally deprived children located in local "pockets of poverty." It was also the first massive attempt to provide Federal aid to education and required broad support from all States and education interest groups in order to assure passage. It is not surprising then that such large-scale funding was set up to be distributed on the basis of formula grants.

394. BEOG, in contrast, was intended to provide, through direct financial aid to individuals, open access and freedom of choice in institution selection; it was not intended to operate as direct aid to institutions of higher education. Consequently, a direct-funding mechanism between the student and the Federal government was both desirable and administratively efficient.

395. Traditionally, postsecondary education in the United States incorporates many types of institutions and governance structures. There is no nationally organized and centrally administered system of higher education in the United States.

Within each State there is a great diversity in the mix of public and private institutions. There is further diversity in the mix of academically oriented, technical, vocational, proprietary, and professional institutions.

Administrative Roles and Responsibilities

396. In cases where the Federal government interacts directly with local or institutional grantees, the State education agency or other State units may or may not be involved in the administrative process. In Head Start, the Governor of a State has the option to review project applications from that State, but State education agencies do not become involved in the grant process.

397. The major programs that operate through State administrative channels share roles and responsibilities which are adjusted to the particular management strategy mandated by a given program. ESEA, Title I, is one example of the Federal/State/local partnership that has undergone considerable scrutiny and specification over the years as roles and relationships have been delineated.

398. Title I: Federal Responsibilities. In addition to its funds disbursement responsibilities, the Federal program office (1) develops and disseminates regulations, guidelines, and other materials related to the administration of Title I; (2) provides technical assistance to the SEAs and periodically monitors their practices; (3) evaluates the results and effectiveness of the program; (4) compiles fiscal, program scope, and evaluation data; and (5) annually reports accomplishments to Congress.

399. Title I: State Responsibilities. State education agencies disburse Title I funds to local school districts. The States must also provide assurances to the Federal government that programs will be administered in accordance with the law and the regulations. They are also required by law to submit fiscal and evaluation reports. In addition to their disbursement and reporting responsibilities, SEAs must: (1) review and approve or disapprove projects proposed by each LEA for funding under the Federal programs; (2) provide technical assistance to the LEAs, and (3) periodically monitor local practices.

400. Title I: Local Responsibilities. LEAs in carrying out the program activities are required: (1) to identify areas to be served and to design projects that apply available resources to meet specified needs; (2) to maintain parent involvement; and (3) to serve private school students. In addition, LEAs are required to submit to their SEA: (1) an application form describing the nature of their proposed project, how it was developed, and the number of students

to be served; (2) a fiscal report on the funds expended and students served; and (3) an evaluation report indicating how participants benefited from these services.

401. In the same way as Title I, the Vocational Education programs (including the special set-aside for the disadvantaged and the smaller Special Programs for the Disadvantaged) involve three levels of governmental authority in the management of the programs. In terms of distribution of funds and overall management policy, however, there is broader flexibility and latitude given to the States in the Vocational Education programs than under ESEA, Title I. State authorities distribute funds targeted for the disadvantaged on the basis of competitive applications submitted by LEAs. Since the funds are not distributed to all or most LEAs within a State, Federal reliance on State program evaluation and decision-making, technical assistance, and monitoring is necessarily greater in the area of vocational education than is the case in Title I.

402. Since Teacher Corps projects must conform to the applicable State laws, rules, regulations, there are substantial cooperative arrangements with the SEA lead constitute an important area of grantee activities. SEAs may also participate as partners in a particular Teacher Corps project, with an allocation made directly to the SEA by the Federal government. Under ordinary circumstances, however, it is the LEA and the IHE that have the major role and responsibility for planning and implementing a Teacher Corps project. The Federal level approves or rejects the application on the basis of published criteria and monitors the project's progress directly.

Summary: Management Issues

403. Federal policy underlying programs for the disadvantaged has been made in response to categorical needs. As educational deficiencies were identified, individual Federal programs were designed to meet these needs equitably, but strictly within the narrow parameters of the specific problem. Decisions about funding mechanisms, administrative channels, eligible grantees, and intended service providers were prescribed by statute or regulations, program by program. In the early years of program administration, a growing concern for fiscal control and accountability spawned a very complicated management organization. For each of the programs in this report, there is a separate administrative organization that stretches from the Federal level to the local service provider. There are also separate accounting mechanisms for both fiscal and program performance purposes.

CHAPTER X

THE IMPACTS OF FEDERAL POLICIES

404. Federal programs for the education of the disadvantaged are intended to help ensure equality of educational opportunity. In doing so, they also serve to support a broader socioeconomic equality. But while the education community in general can subscribe to these goals sympathetically, it has not been as successful in agreeing upon an exact meaning for the phrase equality of educational opportunity.

405. In general, most definitions of equal educational opportunity make allowance for the two basic concepts discussed in Chapter II:

(1) Equal inputs, measured largely by expenditures per student served or by equal choice among educational offerings.

(2) Equal outcomes, meaning that all members of society should attain a minimal set of common learnings or level of certification, or that equal opportunity is attained if neither socioeconomic status, nor race, nor other environmental and social factors were a predictor of student success in schooling. Although individual differences would exist, group differences would be erased.

406. Historically, United States programs seem to have been designed to increase access to educational resources and opportunity, and also to improve the quality of educational services so that they meet the special needs of disadvantaged students. These programs attempt to address both philosophies of equal educational opportunity through the mechanism of improved access and quality.

407. It is probably impossible to sum up the impact of the total effort, but observations can be made concerning the two basic interpretations of equal educational opportunity, the concerns for access and quality, and the general improvement of conditions for the disadvantaged. General statistical indicators of educational progress in the United States over recent years mostly show improvements in these dimensions. However, while this progress has been consistent with the goals of Federal policies, a direct causal relationship cannot be demonstrated. In examining the overall impact of the Federal effort, two questions can be posed:

(1) Have the individual policies and programs contributed to equal educational opportunity in terms of equalizing access to educational resources, i.e., are Federal funds redistributive, equalizing, and supplementary? Alternatively, do programs reach intended recipients and deliver the services intended?

(2) Do these contributions have a positive effect upon participants? What impact can be shown in terms of both immediate and long term effects on participants, particularly in eliminating group disparities?

DISTRIBUTIVE AND FINANCIAL EFFECTS OF FEDERAL AID

408. Considering all sources of Federal aid to elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education, the largest expenditures are incurred by programs designed to promote the equality of of educational opportunity. In assessing the distributive and financial effects of such Federal aid, aid to elementary and secondary education -- which is largely distributed to institutions -- should be distinguished from aid to the postsecondary level, which is largely distributed to individuals.

Aid to Elementary and Secondary Education

409. In programs which support elementary and secondary education, three aspects of the financial effects of Federal programs can be addressed. These are:

(1) Equalization: the extent to which Federal programs provide more money to places with low levels of local educational spending than to places with high per pupil expenditures.

(2) Redistribution: the extent to which Federal programs direct money to areas with large numbers of low-income families.

(3) Increased Local Educational Spending: the extent to which Federal programs increase the total dollars that a local educational agency spends on children identified for services under the Federal program.

410. Equalization. On average, the Federal government in 1975-76 contributed about 8.8 percent of total per pupil revenue for elementary and secondary education. There is, however, wide variance in the relative contribution among the fifty States and the outlying areas. In three States and in the District of Columbia provides more than 20 percent of the average per pupil revenue.

This redistributional effect of Federal aid to the States does not always correlate directly with poverty rates, although poverty rates strongly influence the amount of Federal aid a State receives. Some Federal aid is also responsive to the overall level of effort made by the State itself. On the whole, Federal funding helps to reduce the interstate disparities because the poorest States tend to receive somewhat greater contributions from the Federal level (Table 10.1).

411. A more dramatic indicator of the overall pattern of Federal spending is apparent in specific Federal programs directed toward areas of concentration of low-income children. During the period 1968 to 1975, Federal support from two programs -- ESEA, Title I, and the School Lunch Program -- increased substantially the revenues available to large city systems. In 1968, only 18 percent of the large-city schools received State contributions equal to or greater than the average of the respective States. By 1975, 86 percent of the large-city school systems received a Federal contribution that was equal to or greater than the average Federal contribution per pupil in the State. During the same period, State contributions increased so that 50 percent of these districts received State per pupil contributions equal to or greater than the average of their respective States. This increase in Federal and State spending tended to increase the opportunity for equal education in areas where tax bases were low and where there were high concentrations of poverty (Chart 10.2).

412. The recent NIE study of compensatory education analyzed the equalizing effects of several sources of Federal aid and particularly Title I, ESEA. The results of the study indicate that Title I, and other sources of Federal aid, are somewhat equalizing, but that neither is as effective in compensating for unequal State and Local expenditures as in redistributing funds to areas with concentrations of low-income children.[2]

413. Redistributive Effects. The recent NIE study also examined the redistributive effects of Federal aid to elementary/secondary education. Because it is the largest and most comprehensive Federal program for disadvantaged children in elementary or secondary school, the redistributive effects of Title I are particularly important. The recent NIE data indicated that Title I is effective in directing funds to areas with high numbers of low-income children. Specifically, Title I allocated more than five-and-one-half times as much aid per pupil to the districts with the highest poverty rates as to the lowest. In comparison, the ratio for other Federal programs is three-and-one-half.[3]

414. Increased Total Education Spending. NIE also conducted an econometric study of Title I's impact on LEA expenditures to assess the extent to which the program succeeds in providing additional revenues to serve the disadvantaged rather than substituting for local efforts. The results suggest that

Table 10.1
Per-pupil revenue for public elementary and secondary education, by source and by State or other area: 1975–76

State or other area	Revenue per pupil									
	Total		Federal		State and local[1]		State		Local[1]	
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
United States	$1,718	100.0	$150	8.8	$1,565	91.2	$753	43.9	$812	47.3
Alabama	1,171	100.0	184	16.6	977	83.4	729	62.3	248	21.2
Alaska	3,129	100.0	668	21.4	2,452	78.6	1,933	62.0	519	16.6
Arizona	1,682	100.0	173	10.3	1,509	89.7	768	45.7	741	44.1
Arkansas	1,119	100.0	176	15.7	943	84.3	574	51.3	369	33.0
California	1,755	100.0	146	8.3	1,609	91.7	744	42.4	865	49.3
Colorado	1,752	100.0	129	7.4	1,623	92.6	713	40.7	910	51.9
Connecticut	1,882	100.0	85	4.5	1,797	95.5	611	32.5	1,186	63.0
Delaware	1,958	100.0	189	9.7	1,769	90.3	1,338	68.3	431	22.0
District of Columbia [2] [3]	2,126	100.0	674	31.7	1,452	62.3	1,452	68.3	. . .	. . .
Florida	1,555	100.0	157	10.1	1,397	89.8	810	52.1	587	37.7
Georgia	1,226	100.0	178	14.5	1,048	85.5	577	47.1	471	38.4
Hawaii [3]	1,650	100.0	212	12.8	1,438	87.2	1,438	87.2	. . .	. . .
Idaho	1,306	100.0	119	9.1	1,188	90.9	630	48.2	558	42.7
Illinois	1,770	100.0	123	6.9	1,648	93.1	696	39.3	952	53.8
Indiana	1,477	100.0	94	6.4	1,383	93.6	716	48.5	667	45.2
Iowa	1,650	100.0	89	5.4	1,561	94.6	691	41.9	870	52.7
Kansas	1,618	100.0	130	8.0	1,487	91.9	630	38.9	857	53.0
Kentucky	1,237	100.0	181	14.6	1,056	85.3	687	55.5	369	29.8
Louisiana	1,363	100.0	199	14.6	1,165	85.5	781	57.3	384	28.2
Maine	1,300	100.0	129	9.8	1,172	90.2	561	43.2	611	47.0
Maryland	2,107	100.0	167	7.9	1,939	92.0	864	41.0	1,075	51.0
Massachusetts	2,134	100.0	90	4.2	2,044	95.8	769	36.0	1,275	59.7
Michigan	2,166	100.0	134	6.2	2,032	93.8	974	45.0	1,058	48.8
Minnesota	1,921	100.0	120	6.2	1,801	93.8	1,124	58.5	677	35.2
Mississippi	1,094	100.0	232	21.2	862	78.8	596	54.5	266	24.3
Missouri	1,365	100.0	127	9.3	1,238	90.7	507	37.1	731	53.6
Montana	1,765	100.0	165	9.3	1,600	90.6	899	50.9	701	39.7
Nebraska	1,420	100.0	117	8.2	1,304	91.8	270	19.0	1,034	72.8
Nevada	1,552	100.0	129	8.3	1,423	91.7	581	37.4	842	54.3
New Hampshire	1,430	100.0	83	5.8	1,347	94.2	135	9.5	1,212	84.7
New Jersey	2,157	100.0	133	6.2	2,024	93.8	616	28.6	1,408	65.3
New Mexico	1,445	100.0	333	23.0	1,112	77.0	859	59.4	253	17.5
New York	2,699	100.0	165	6.1	2,534	93.9	1,060	39.3	1,474	54.6
North Carolina	1,283	100.0	175	13.6	1,108	86.4	791	61.7	317	24.7
North Dakota	1,504	100.0	176	11.7	1,329	88.4	657	43.7	672	44.7
Ohio	1,445	100.0	101	7.0	1,344	93.0	571	39.5	773	53.5
Oklahoma	1,309	100.0	163	12.5	1,146	87.6	661	50.5	485	37.1
Oregon	1,984	100.0	154	7.8	1,830	92.2	517	26.0	1,313	66.1
Pennsylvania	1,913	100.0	165	8.6	1,748	91.4	902	47.2	846	44.2
Rhode Island	1,629	100.0	137	8.4	1,492	91.6	544	33.4	948	58.2
South Carolina	1,299	100.0	229	17.6	1,070	82.4	713	54.9	357	27.5
South Dakota	1,362	100.0	174	12.8	1,188	87.2	232	17.0	956	70.2
Tennessee	1,118	100.0	144	12.9	974	87.0	551	49.2	423	37.8
Texas	1,507	100.0	170	11.3	1,337	88.7	738	49.0	599	39.7
Utah	1,384	100.0	126	9.1	1,258	90.9	756	54.6	502	36.3
Vermont	1,618	100.0	114	7.0	1,503	92.9	463	28.6	1,040	64.3
Virginia	1,487	100.0	170	11.4	1,317	88.6	476	32.0	841	56.6
Washington	1,704	100.0	157	9.2	1,547	90.8	1,041	61.1	506	29.7
West Virginia	1,288	100.0	157	12.2	1,131	87.8	700	54.3	431	33.5
Wisconsin	1,757	100.0	89	5.1	1,667	94.9	641	36.5	1,026	58.4
Wyoming	1,951	100.0	139	7.1	1,812	92.9	604	31.0	1,208	61.9
Outlying areas:										
American Samoa	908	100.0	401	44.2	508	55.9	508	55.9	. . .	. . .
Canal Zone	1,642	100.0	1,642	100.0	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .
Guam	1,794	100.0	489	27.3	1,305	72.7	1,305	72.7	. . .	. . .
Puerto Rico	623	100.0	172	27.6	451	72.4	451	72.4	. . .	. . .
Virgin Islands	1,569	100.0	214	13.6	1,355	86.4	1,355	86.4	. . .	. . .

[1] Local revenues include revenues from the intermediate level.

[2] Revenues from Federal sources for the District of Columbia include 17.6 percent of the revenues from local sources, since that percentage of the general revenues of the District of Columbia was received from the Federal Government in FY 1976.

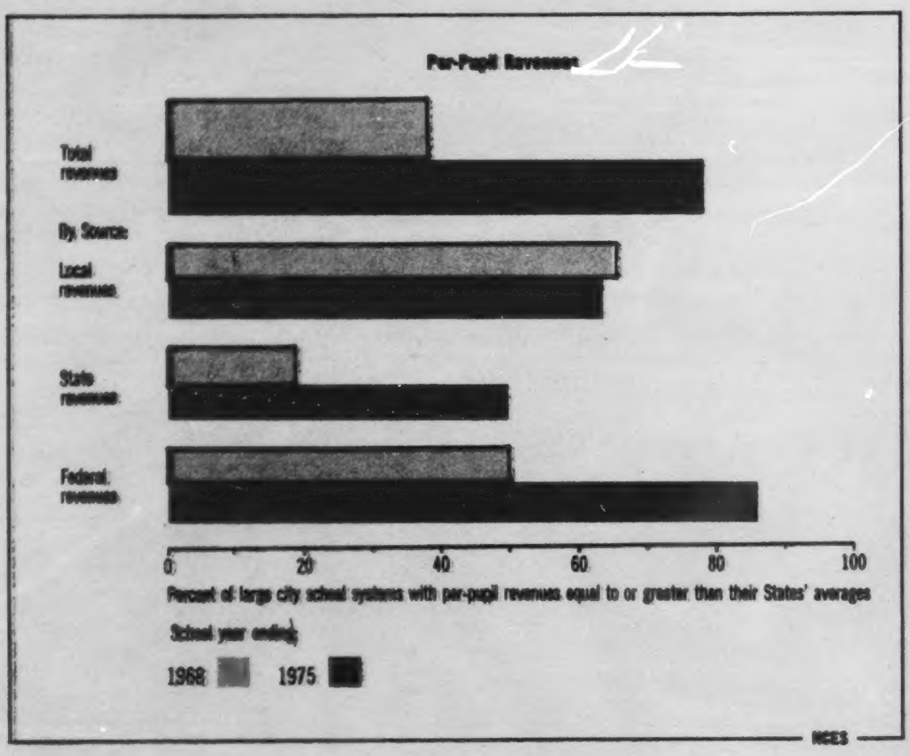
[3] In Hawaii and the District of Columbia, the local school system encompasses the entire political subdivision. Therefore, for these two school systems, all revenues from other than Federal sources are classified as from State sources.

NOTE: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, *Revenues and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 1975–1976,*

Chart 10.2
Revenue and Expenditure Patterns of Large City School Systems

In 1974–75, more large city school systems received funding at or above their State's average than in 1967–68. Most of the increased funding came from State and Federal sources.



an extra dollar of Title I aid raises local educational spending by 72 cents. The remaining 28 cents per dollar provides tax relief or allows jurisdictions to increase other forms of public spending. By comparison, other Federal aid, which includes a number of programs that vary considerably in their grant structure, increases total expenditures by 41 cents on the dollar.[4]

415. The analysis that produced these findings compared the spending patterns of similar districts in different States. The analysis was possible because district Title I grants are based not only on the number of formula-eligible children in the district, but also on the average per pupil expenditure in the district's State. Hence, similar or even identical districts in different States can receive different Title I grants.

416. However, the very fact that Title I grants are higher in States with high average expenditures complicates the analysis because States with high average expenditures are likely to be those that include districts willing to subsidize education heavily from their own tax base, or to spend heavily on education regardless of the source of funds. It is impossible to separate exactly the effects of Title I funds from the effects of such interstate differences.

417. When the analyses were repeated in a form that makes a specific allowance for possible State variations, the Title I figure fell to 57 cents on the dollar. Thus, while it is impossible to determine the exact impact of Title I dollars, it can be said that about two-thirds of Title I grants are used for additional spending.[5] This is, of course, an average figure; the effects almost certainly vary in different types of districts.

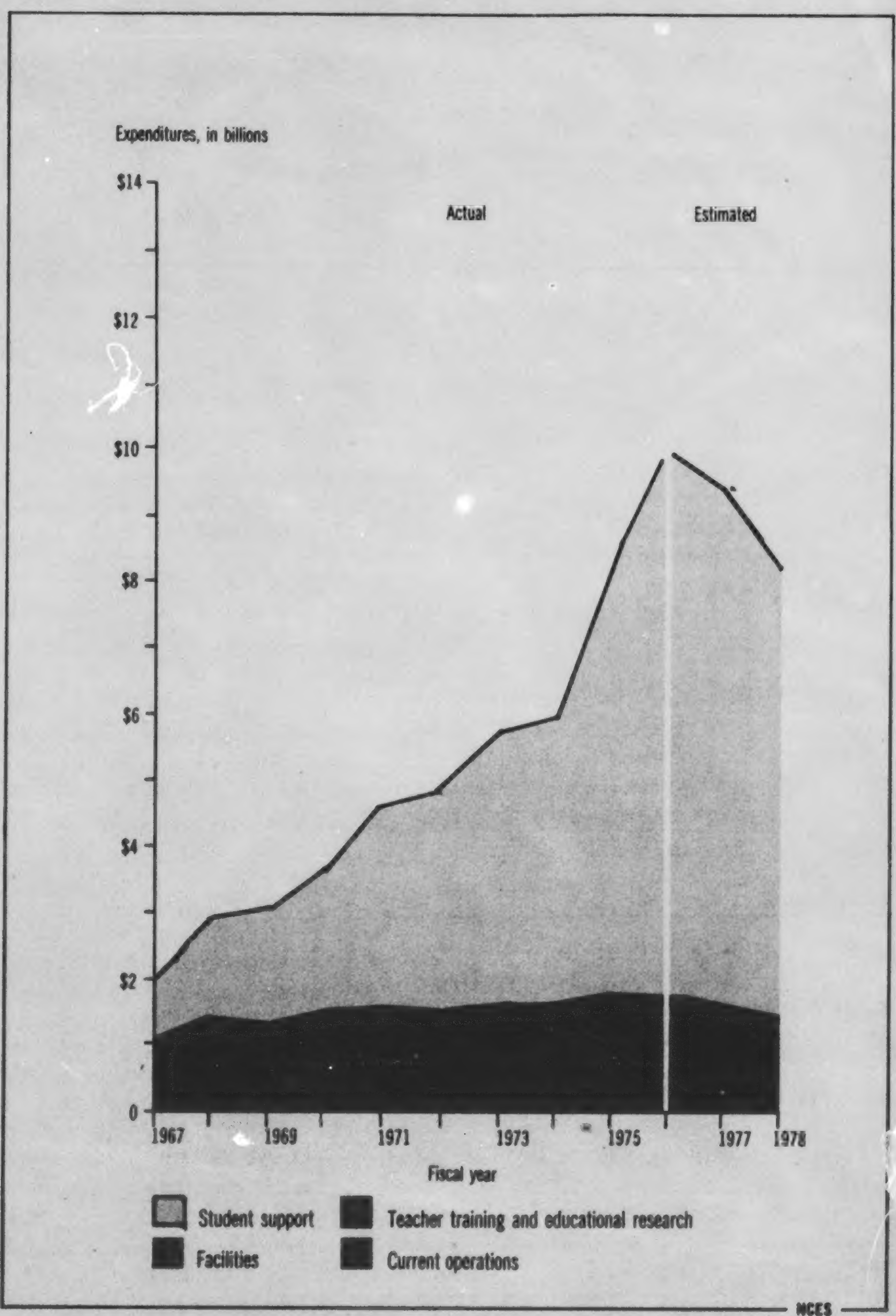
Patterns of Federal Aid to Higher Education

418. Federal aid to higher education has changed in major ways in recent years (Chart 10.3). Total Federal expenditures for higher education were estimated to be $9.5 billion in 1977, an increase of $7.4 billion since 1967, but down slightly from 1976, the peak year. Over the past decade the portions of aid allocated for various purposes have changed substantially. In 1967, about 48 percent of total Federal expenditures were for the purpose of student support. By 1977, this share had risen to about 83 percent. Institutional support, in contrast, has declined from about 50 percent of total Federal expenditures for higher education in 1967 to about 17 percent in 1977. This dramatic increase in Federal aid focused more on student support than on institutional support is the result of Federal interest in directly removing the financial barriers to individuals' choices in higher education.

Chart 10.3

Federal Expenditures on Higher Education, by Type of Support

The share of Federal expenditures for higher education allocated to student support has increased from 47.6 percent in 1967 to 82.6 percent in 1976.



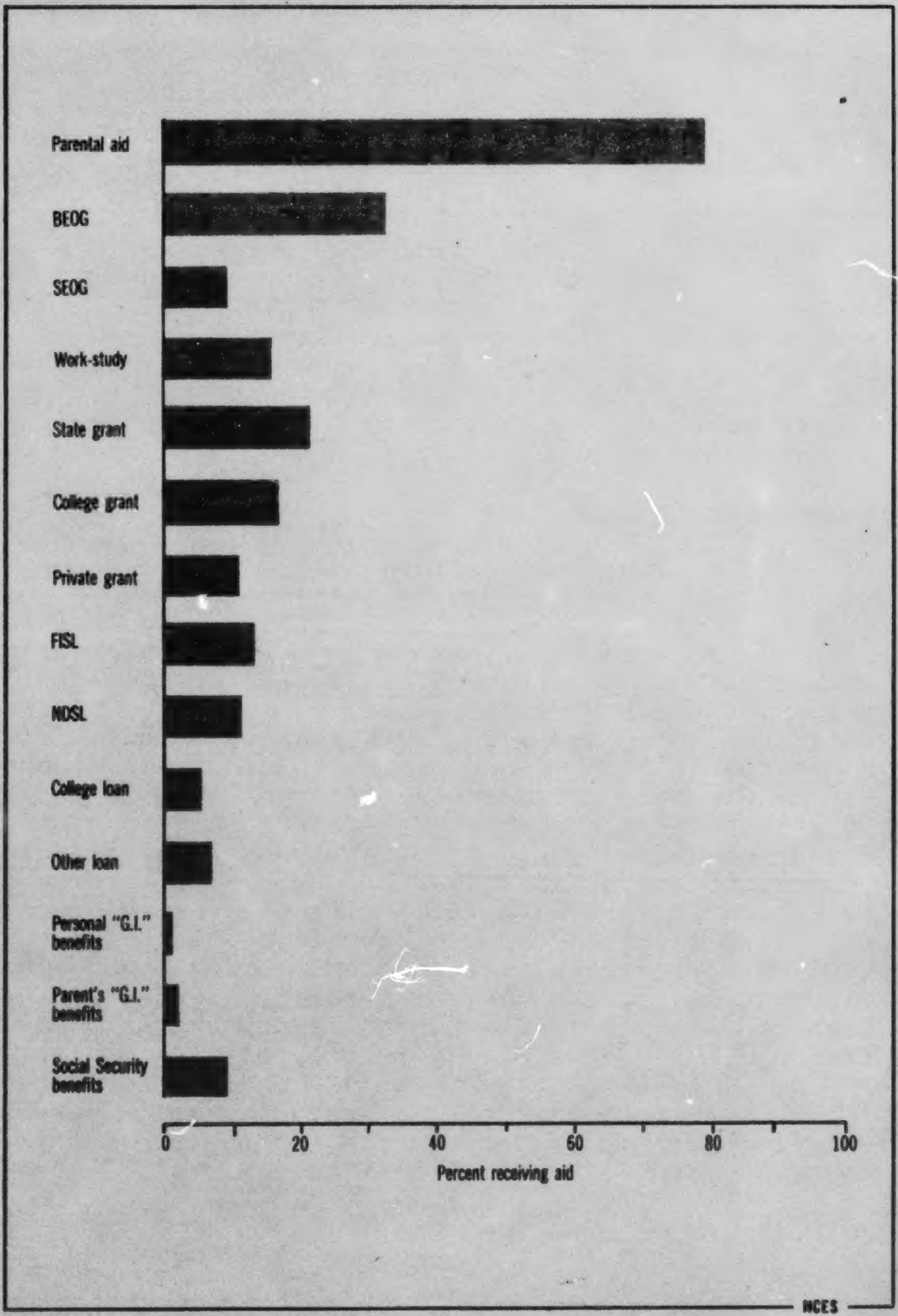
SOURCE: Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, *Special Analyses, Budget of the United States Government,* various years.

419. Aid to Individuals: Redistributive Effects [6]. Together with other Federally sponsored student aid, Basic Educational Opportunity Grant program (BEOG) is strongly redistributive. Although low-income students have especially benefited from the BEOG program, 33 percent of all freshmen in the school year 1977 received a BEOG grant (Chart 10.4).[7] The amount of Federal aid that students received is inversely related to a student's family income. Students whose parents' incomes are less than $7,500 annually constitute about 33 percent of all student recipients of aid. Those whose family incomes are $15,000 or more make up only 9 percent of aided students. Independent undergraduate or graduate students constitute 28 percent of all students getting assistance. The types of aid students receive are also associated with their parental income level. BEOG grants are likely to go to students whose parents earn less than $7,500, while Guaranteed Student Loans (GSL) are most likely to go to students whose parental income is $15,000 and over, or to independent students. The other types of aid are more likely to go to the students whose parents earn under $7,500.

420. The composition of the "aid packages" (Federal grant, work-study position, loan, transfer benefits -- such as social security -- or non-Federal) varied considerably among 1972-73 full-time freshmen in a National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 (NLS) (Table 10.7). The amount of total and Federal aid received was inversely related to a student's family income. Among low-income students receiving aid, for example, the share of assistance of Federal origin was about 61 percent. Among higher income students it was about 42 percent. Non-Federal aid to a student, on the other hand, increased slightly as family income increased. Composition of aid packages also varied according to ability level. While total aid was positively related to a student's ability group, Federal aid both in absolute and relative terms was inversely related. Among racial and ethnic groups, black students, the largest minority group, receive the most total and Federal aid. Student aid packages also differed in composition depending upon the public or private control of the institution they attended. While students attending public institutions received proportionately more aid from Federal sources, students attending private institutions received more Federal aid dollars.[8]

Chart 10.4
Freshman Financial Aid Recipients by Type of Aid

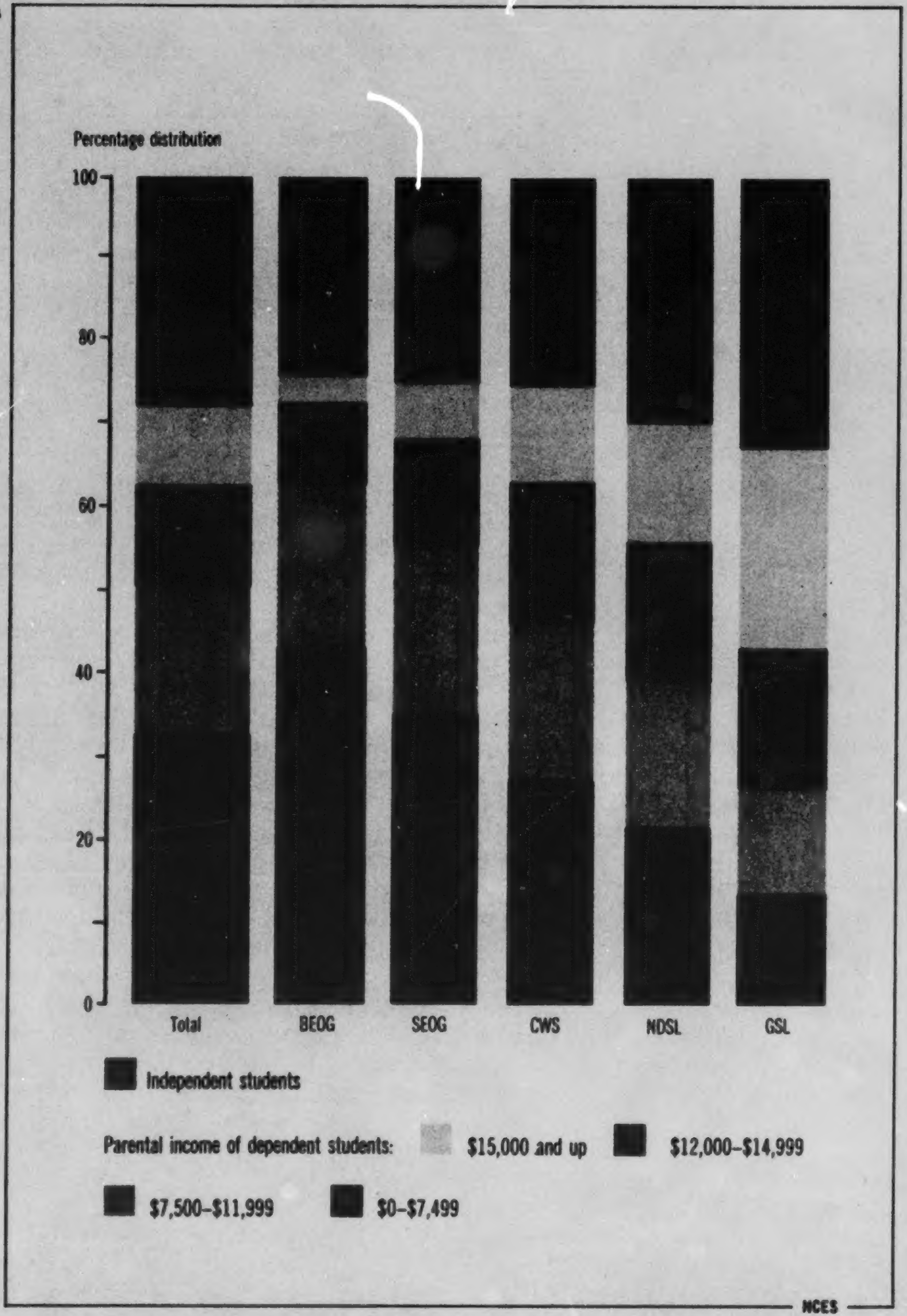
More freshmen receive financial aid from the OE's BEOG program than from any other source except their parents.



SOURCE: American Council on Education, Cooperative Institutional Research Program, *The American Freshman: National Norms for Fall 1977.*

Chart 10.5
Recipients of Office of Education Student Assistance

Among all student recipients of OE financial aid in 1976–77, almost 33 percent reported parental income of less than $7,500.



SOURCE: American Council on Education, Higher Education Panel, *Estimated Number of Student Aid Recipients, 1976–77.*

421. Analyses of enrollment in higher education institutions by socio-economic, ethnic and linguistic grouping also show some of the distributive effects of Federal education policy. Although economic barriers to higher education have not been totally lifted, a significant percentage of individuals coming from families with incomes under $5,000 enroll in postsecondary education. On average, 28 percent of all students from white families with incomes under $5,000 enrolled in higher education. Chart 10.6 illustrates some of the variations between the ethnic minorities and linguistic minorities and white population. In general, the proportion of whites from this income group continuing their education is higher than that of blacks and Hispanics. However, in the next two income ranges, $5,000-$9,999 and $10,000-$14,999, there are higher rates of enrollment among blacks than among whites.

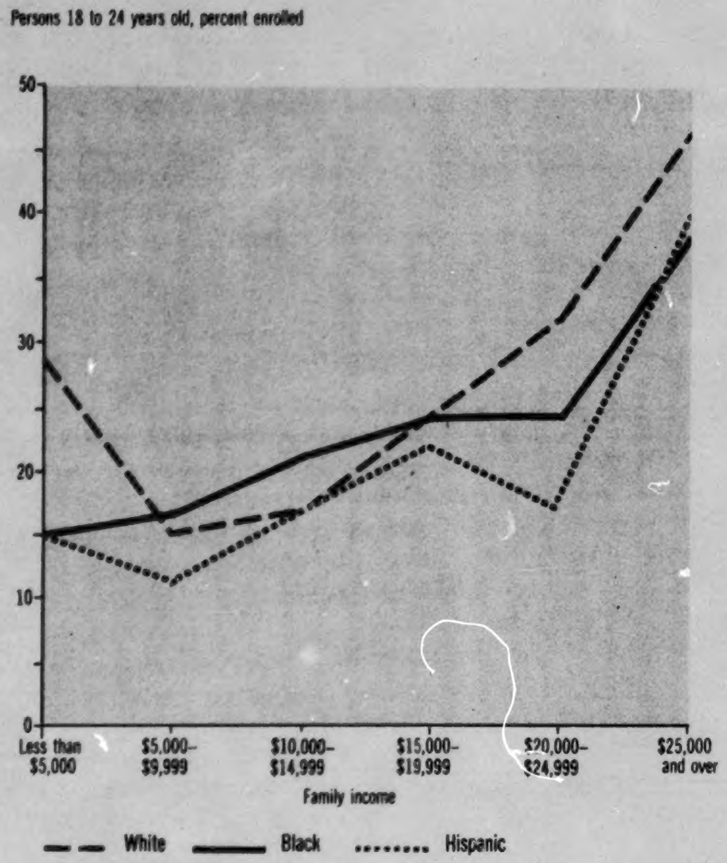
Are Funds Reaching Intended Beneficiaries?

422. The preceding discussion indicates that Federal funds in general are redistributive; however, some programs are more redistributive than others. A second question that can be addressed is whether or not the funds are reaching the types of individuals designated as eligible, or "disadvantaged," as specified in each program. Recent evaluations of the programs described in Chapters III-VIII indicate that program funds are by and large reaching the individuals intended by the Congress to be beneficiaries of those programs. In Head Start, for example, recent evidence indicates that the program is reasonably close to meeting its own requirement that 90 percent of participants meet the low-income criterion.[9] In Title I, evidence indicates that among schools receiving Title I funds, the services were moderately well focused on individual children who could be judged needy, primarily in terms of low achievement but also in terms of their low-income background.[10]

423. The exact extent to which each of the case-study programs is successful with respect to this question is difficult to summarize for several reasons. First, in some instances, the evaluation has not addressed this question. Second, the funds allocation policy and legal framework may not lend themselves to determination of specific individuals to be served, as for example in the Educational Opportunity Centers (EOC) program where entire low-income areas are served. Finally, the stated criteria for selecting eligible recipients may not be precisely drawn or may include many "and/or" characteristics so that precise determination of eligible recipients is not possible.

Chart 10.6
College Enrollment Rates by Family Income and Racial/Ethnic Origin

Among 18- to 24-year-olds with a family income between $5,000 and $19,999, the college enrollment rate of blacks exceeds that of whites and Hispanics.



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, Survey of Income and Education, unpublished data.

Are Intended Services Delivered?

424. On a national scale, the principal compensatory efforts (Head Start, Title I, Upward Bound) are providing definite educational services as well as important ancillary ones. Recent evaluation studies of the case-study programs indicate that, in general, appropriate and supplementary services are being delivered to the intended beneficiaries. Since each program is conceptualized somewhat differently, they may differ somewhat in the mix between educational and ancillary services. For example, Title I has a strong focus on basic skills instruction in reading and mathematics, and more than 75 percent of the Title I budget nationally pays for this kind of service. The Head Start program focuses on delivery of comprehensive services that include education, health, nutrition, and their services. Upward Bound combines direct instructional programs with a comprehensive approach during the summer session. Vocational education pays for skills training as well as remedial education. Teacher Corps provides instructional services and other training opportunities for interns, inservice teachers, and children in the classroom.

425. While results are generally positive for all programs on a national scale, the quality, intensity, and appropriateness of services is not always consistent between States and within States at local sites. For example, NIE has noted that variations among school districts in their compensatory instructional programs are strongly related to the size of the district's Title I grants and to the staffing patterns they select. Differences among districts are also evident in the standards for measuring the educational needs of children, as well as in the selection of service-delivery mechanisms, such as the practice of pulling students out of regular classrooms in order to receive special compensatory services.[11]

EFFECTS ON PARTICIPANTS

426. The recent literature has focused on two perspectives in assessing Federal program impact on participants: immediate effects and long term effects. This breakdown may be important to policy decisions regarding the early intervention programs, such as Head Start and Title I. It is less useful for the programs at the secondary and postsecondary levels, since the goals of these latter programs are short range or terminal goals, e.g., applying for and entering postsecondary education or completing a regular vocational education course. Clearly, it is expected that all of the programs will have certain lasting effects upon the participants since all are intended to help the disadvantaged in achieving broader social and economic equality.

Long Term Effects

427. Measurement of the long term effects of the early intervention programs has been hampered by the absence of empirical data that systematically follow the progress of individual children once the program experience has terminated. Early studies of program effects were also plagued by methodological problems. Those studies often used cross-sectional data, often did not differentiate between participants and nonparticipants, and relied on measurement of only one aspect of participants' development (such as changes in IQ scores).

428. To obtain more definitive answers about the long term impact of programs, several studies are now underway which will assess the durability of effects of participation in early intervention programs. By pooling data sources, using common analysis techniques, by studying the total context of child development (in and outside the school environment), and by using other measures of success such as percent of participants who pass or are retained in a grade or who are placed in special remedial classes, researchers hope to be able to assess long term effects more accurately.

429. A major study of the long term effects of Title I, ESEA, is underway. Preliminary results were expected to be available in 1979 but have been delayed. This study will follow the progress of identified Title I participants over a three-year period, using pre- and post-measurements of achievement. Until more definitive results are available, judgments about the long term effects must be cautious.

Immediate Effects

430. Head Start. There is cause for optimism in reviewing the immediate effects of the early intervention programs. It is reasonably well established in the literature that participation in Head Start contributes to a child's readiness for elementary school, his or her cognitive development, and initial achievement. In the affective domain, participating children show greater personal and social development than nonparticipants. Research shows that the parents of the disadvantaged can make a meaningful contribution to their children's overall development if the parents are engaged in the educational process. Evaluation results from Head Start suggest that this program does in fact encourage and foster beneficial parent involvement.

431. Title I. The weight of recent research evidence suggests that the Title I program apparently is capable of producing modest effects on children's academic achievement. Especially in well planned and stable programs, participating children have shown significant achievement gains throughout the school year.

432. The Title I policy of providing special educational services for the disadvantaged may have also affected the total learning environment in ways that are not easily observed. Re-analyses of aggregated national statistics on test score trends provide a way of inferring some of the overall effects of Title I. Such broad scale evidence has importance because Title I is a national program, operating in 14,000 of the country's 16,000 school districts, and now serving about 6 million children annually. Since the great majority of Title I participants are in grades 1-6, evidence from those grades is most relevant.

433. The evidence from a variety of studies is that on average, reading scores of children in the second, third, and fourth grades has been rising. However, test scores at higher grades, on the other hand, have been declining. These declines start at about the fifth grade and appear to increase through high school. The most extensive example of this phenomenon occurs in the case of the Scholastic Aptitude Test -- a decline in part explainable by changes in the college-going population, but probably at least partly due to changes in schools and society.

434. Vocational Education. Measurement of the success of the vocational education programs for the disadvantaged is complex because project goals at the State and local levels are more varied than in other programs studied in this review. One measure of program success is completion rate. On this criterion, the program appears successful; 83 percent of the participating youth completed these locally administered programs. The impressions of participating students together with those of subsequent employers may also indicate the impact of the program. Both students and employers believe that the program has enhanced the students' employment opportunities and contributed to their skill levels. Beyond these rather general indicators of success, no more specific conclusions about these programs can be drawn.

435. Postsecondary Entry. Four separate programs comprise the Special Programs for Disadvantaged Students (SPDS), and the evaluation findings reflect the variance among the program goals. The incidence of postsecondary entry is one indicator of the success of the Upward Bound program. Upward Bound increases the rate of postsecondary entry by more than 18 percent; this represents a significant gain over a sample group of students sharing many characteristics with the Upward Bound group. Upward Bound students are more likely to select four-year colleges and generally are more successful in obtaining attractive financial aid packages. Talent Search identifies disadvantaged youth who are likely to succeed in college; a 1972 evaluation suggests that 75 percent of those who have said they will attend college in fact do so (as reported by local project staff).

436. Long Term Effects of Student Aid. Entry rates among various socio-economic, ethnic, and racial groups can be affected by a financial aid policy. Whether this policy by itself has any direct relationship with completion rates is unknown. National data on university completion rates by socio-economic group are not available. There is evidence for 1975-76, however, concerning completion rates by minority group membership. To the extent that minority group status correlates with low-income status, it provides some indication of the current results. In 1976 almost 88 percent of all bachelor's degrees were awarded to whites; in that year, blacks and members of other minority groups earned about 10.8 percent of all bachelor's degrees.

437. On the other hand, it is known that the distribution of financial aid has a positive effect on completion rates (Chart 10.7). Data collected from the National Longitudinal Study indicate that students with financial aid were more likely to complete college than those who did not receive such aid.

438. Furthermore, financial aid has a positive effect on overall educational attainment. Students receiving financial aid are more likely to be enrolled in four-year institutions, and they are also more likely to continue with graduate education. Financial aid has the positive effect of lowering withdrawal from institutions of learning before completion of the program (Chart 10.8).

439. Teacher Corps Entry. Because Teacher Corps is focused both on individuals and the educational system, evaluation of the effect on participants is complex. To the extent that the early phase of Teacher Corps encouraged highly motivated individuals to enter a teaching career and to teach disadvantaged children, the program showed some measures of success. In that phase of the program, communities, school districts, and institutions of higher education effectively collaborated in designing and implementing programs. A long range evaluation of this early phase would require descriptive data relating to these teachers' current placement and to their effectiveness in the classroom. Similarly, additional research is necessary to determine the magnitude of any systematic changes brought about during this initial phase.

CONCLUSIONS

440. The objectives of the programs examined in this report are generally short range. Recent data support a cautious optimism that most of these programs are beginning to attain their short range goals for the participating children and youth. Particularly for those programs providing

Table 10.7
Composition of financial aid packages received by aided, entering full-time freshmen* by family income, student ability, racial/ethnic group, and control and type of institution attended: 1972–1973

Item	Amount							Percentage distribution						
		Federal aid					Non-Federal aid		Federal aid					Non-Federal aid
	Total	Total	Grants	College work-study	Loan	Benefit		Total	Total	Grant	College work-study	Loan	Benefit	
All aided freshmen . . .	$1,084	$565	$104	$76	$304	$81	$519	100.0	52.1	9.6	7.0	28.0	7.5	47.9
Family income quartile:														
Low	1,267	777	198	128	333	118	490	100.0	61.3	15.6	10.1	26.3	9.3	38.7
Lower middle	1,083	556	94	77	326	58	527	100.0	51.3	8.7	7.1	30.1	5.4	48.7
Upper middle	1,052	516	51	60	341	64	536	100.0	49.0	4.8	5.7	32.4	6.1	51.0
High	945	401	82	37	221	61	544	100.0	42.4	8.7	3.9	23.4	6.5	57.6
Student ability group:														
Low	962	586	109	97	286	94	376	100.0	60.9	11.3	10.1	29.7	9.8	39.1
Lower middle	1,099	574	92	70	346	66	525	100.0	52.2	8.4	6.4	31.5	6.0	47.8
Upper middle	1,150	558	99	61	316	82	592	100.0	48.5	8.6	5.3	27.5	7.1	51.5
High	1,288	507	112	50	287	58	781	100.0	39.4	8.7	3.9	22.3	4.5	60.6
Racial/ethnic group:														
White	1,052	533	88	65	294	86	519	100.0	50.7	8.4	6.2	27.9	8.2	49.3
Black	1,379	874	224	184	411	55	505	100.0	63.4	16.2	13.3	29.8	4.0	36.6
Hispanic	1,108	736	222	91	341	82	372	100.0	66.4	20.0	8.2	30.8	7.4	33.6
Other	1,272	518	143	99	259	17	754	100.0	40.7	11.2	7.8	20.4	1.3	59.3
Institution control and type:														
Public:														
4-year	956	522	118	70	264	70	434	100.0	54.6	12.3	7.3	27.6	7.3	45.4
2-year	618	338	65	77	108	88	280	100.0	54.7	10.5	12.5	17.5	14.2	45.3
Private:														
4-year	1,723	785	150	105	458	71	938	100.0	45.6	8.7	6.1	26.6	4.1	54.4
2-year	1,044	480	91	76	216	97	564	100.0	46.0	8.7	7.3	20.7	9.3	54.0

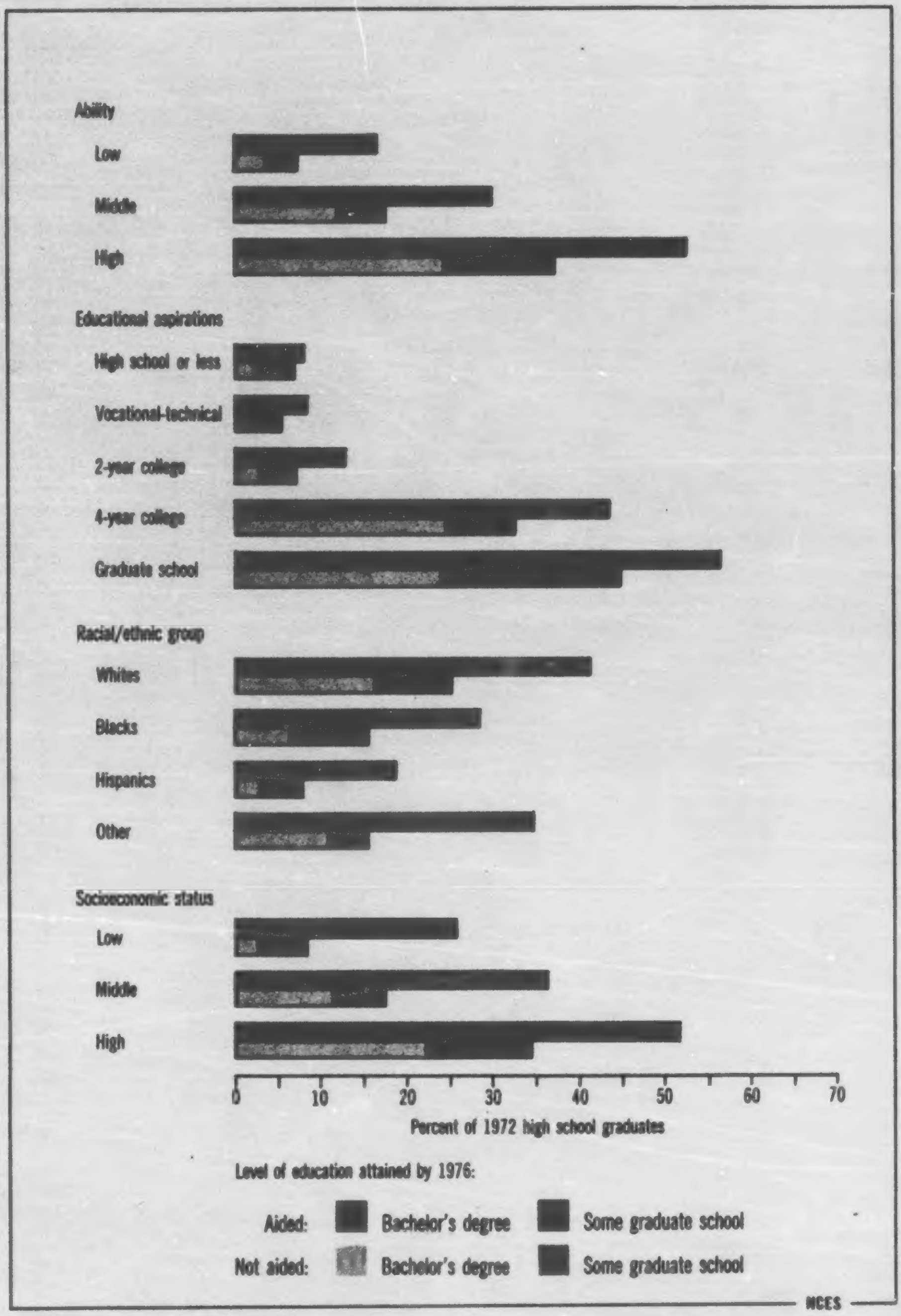
* In the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972.

NOTE: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, "Student Financial Aid: Institutional Packaging and Family Expenditure Patterns," by Alan P. Wagner and Lois O. Rice.

Chart 10.8
Educational Attainment by Receipt of Financial Aid

Among college students in the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, those who received financial aid were more likely to have graduated from college by [illegible]76.



SOURCE: U.S Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972, unpublished data.

instructional services (e.g., Title I), recent data also indicate that the quality of program implementation is uneven both within and between large national programs. Success in reaching implicit or explicit long term goals is more difficult to determine, partly because of the absence of empirical data. Thus, although there is room for optimism, the current set of programs is not perfect. The articulation of compensatory education programs into a cohesive set of services for all age groups has also not been addressed systematically.

441. This review of the effectiveness of Federal policy for the disadvantaged is necessarily incomplete. The sum of individual program evaluations does not adequately demonstrate the overall impact of Federal policy, because current mandates and resources are geared more toward program-by-program studies, which must necessarily remain parochial in nature. Current evaluations are not designed to measure changes in public attitude throughout the last decade, nor do they measure the role of the Federal government in making State, local, and campus officials more responsive to the special needs of disadvantaged students. Although these latter consequences of Federal policy may be impossible to quantify, they have been noted in both popular and academic literature. Federal leadership has played a crucial role in helping redress an historic situation in which the most disadvantaged students were the least well served by the educational system.

CHAPTER XI

CURRENT ISSUES [1]

INTRODUCTION

442. The growth and refinement of policies for the education of the disadvantaged have followed a somewhat irregular path over the past 10-15 years. As the Federal government came to recognize the needs of disadvantaged individuals, as interest groups applied political pressure, and as conditions were recognized as national problems, specific policies and programs were enacted by the Congress. Particular program constituencies (recipients of services, as well as administratiors at all government levels) gradually secured a more or less permanent status for the programs. Rather than eliminating or modifying programs, the tendency has been to create new programs as new needs have been identified.

443. There is a growing concern with the apparent lack of overall efficiency, coordination, and articulation between programs. In some cases, for example, program objectives overlap for the same target or age groups; program requirements sometimes are in conflict or are inconsistent with one another. Uneven resource distribution and coverage of eligible participants create gaps in the total effort. State and local officials complain of too much regulation by the Federal government and redundant paperwork associated with acquiring Federal aid. Evaluations show a variety of interpretations of program purposes and policies at the local level.

444. A comprehensive review of existing programs can be beneficial in three different ways. It can (1) contribute to a redefinition of the Federal role in education, (2) point the way to specific reforms designed to carry out current priorities more effectively, and (3) help to identify neglected content areas or target groups where supplementary initiatives are needed.

445. The number of Federal programs has grown, and one result is frequent confusion about the substantive aims of Federal programs. Many Federal programs are operating on virtually the same assumptions as when they were first inaugurated. Yet times have changed. Economic and social conditions in the country are different now than they were ten or twenty years ago, and the relationship between Federal and State governments has changed dramatically over the past ten years.

446. Not only are the conditions addressed by Federal programs changing, but our knowledge of what works and what does not work is changing. We have learned that the

introduction and adequate implementation of new programs, whether they be curricular or other services, takes a long time and depends heavily on local needs and commitment. A single Federal program does not take the same form everywhere, and is not always based on the same theoretical approach to a problem. The local effectiveness of a program cannot be ensured through Federal-level management strategies.

447. This chapter discusses possible approaches to better coordination and rationalization. First, overall problems are viewed from the different standpoints of the individual, the service-delivery site, the intergovernmental system, and the Federal government. Then, alternative program reforms that would continue to promote equity without putting constraints on quality are discussed, as are moves to expand the current Federal role.

THE INDIVIDUAL

Question: What effect does the current array of program structures have on the chances of the individual to receive needed services?

Continuity/Discontinuity of Services

448. For the sake of the individual, it might make sense for programs and services to be connected as a logical, sustained sequence. Thus, once identified as needing special help, the individual could be assured of receiving such help as long as it was needed. While programs do address the needs of students at all ages, they have not yet been systematically linked as a continuum.

449. A reasonably logical framework is already in place for providing services from the preschool years through to the conclusion of formal postsecondary training. It is doubtful, however, that any particular child actually participates in all or even most of these programs. The basic Federal approach responds to the concept that each State is responsible for the overall education of its citizens. The Federal role is to ensure equal protection within the existing provision of educational services by a State. The current Federal role is not conceived as long term, continuous support for individuals, except in the case of an identified handicapped individual.

450. The current Federal role also was built on the assumption that no particular individual would require continuing services. It was thought that if early intervention programs succeeded for an individual child, then there would be no need to follow

that child continuously throughout the educational process. Rather, the Federal posture has been to have services available at several points along the educational continuum to serve those children who at those points demonstrate need.

451. Particularly at the preschool through secondary levels, programs have not been implemented in a way that leads logically from one to the other. Thus, for example, a Head Start child is not automatically eligible for Title I, even if by some criteria the child needs continuing help after Head Start. Uneven resources, differing criteria for eligibility, and uneven geographic distribution of projects, as well as differing program purposes and underlying philosophical approaches, probably preclude a longitudinal service concept under present conditions. There has been little encouragement from the Federal level to stimulate local officials to seek continuity of services across programs.

452. It would be unfair not to mention within-program efforts to support continuity of services; for example, eligibility to participate in a Head Start project, once established, continues for that year and the succeeding year, despite changes that may occur in family income. Also, the Education Amendments of 1978 contain provisions in Title I that support continuity of services for Title I children who progress to the point that they are no longer in "greatest need" or who transfer to a school not receiving Title I funds. LEAs must also give due consideration to providing activities to sustain achievement gains of children beyond the year in which a child participates in Title I. Another example of within-program continuity is the multiyear eligibility of participants in Upward Bound.

453. At the postsecondary level, the coordination of programs in support of continuity of services is somewhat different, probably because of slightly different Federal, State, and local roles and responsibilities at this educational level. Postsecondary education is pursued as a matter of individual choice. The major goal of Federal activity has been to stimulate increased opportunities for low-income youth to obtain higher education through student financial aid. The Congress and the Executive Branch have taken significant steps toward designing a range of policies and programs that together are a fairly cohesive strategy for accomplishing this goal. Not only is there a well developed concept of "packaging" student financial aid, i.e., opportunities to combine several types of assistance for students with economic needs, but there are also ties with the secondary school-level programs. Talent Search and Upward Bound inform students of the availability of aid and encourage and assist disadvantaged students to secure such aid. The

student aid programs also are more longitudinal in the sense that services are available to an individual for the normal course of study leading to a Baccalaureate degree, provided that the student's financial need continues and that the student maintains satisfactory progress.

Overall Distribution of the Effort

454. Another factor affecting the individual's chances of receiving services is the uneven availability of assistance between one school level and another.

455. The current predominant support for early childhood intervention programs as opposed to secondary school intervention is most evident in the difference in budget levels for programs, or parts thereof, that are aimed at the two age groups. The amount of support for two early intervention programs alone -- Head Start ($625 million in FY 1977) and that portion of Title I directed at preschool through grade 6 -- is overwhelming [2] when compared with the funds available for Talent Search ($11 million), Upward Bound ($44 million), and vocational education efforts at the secondary school level (approximately $65 million).[3]

456. At the postsecondary level, we find a substantial commitment of Federal funds available for those who succeed in making it through high school. The amount expended for BEOG's alone in FY 1978 was over $2 billion. Again, in comparison with the funds now directed at the secondary age group, the imbalance is overwhelming.

457. But the problem is perhaps deeper than allocation of priorities in the budget. There are at least two factors that shed further light on this situation: concern about the role and function of the American high school in a rapidly changing society; and the fact that most research about human learning has been focused on the early years.[4]

458. This priority on early childhood learning is no accident. Initial development of the policies and programs under discussion in this report were strongly influenced by the climate of opinion favoring early childhood intervention and by decades of research studies of development of selected human characteristics, particularly emotional and mental development. For example, the summary and review of research by Benjamin Bloom that was published in 1964 suggested that the most extensive period of development and change in human characteristics, particularly in general achievement, occurs in the early years (about 1-9 years old).[5] Publication of these findings coincided with the initial proposal of Great Society programs and had a decided influence on subsequent program design and targeting on age groups.

459. Recent studies and articles concerning intelligence and learning in adolescence, however, present a compelling rationale for reconsidering the relative lack of Federal attention to the compensatory education needs of youth in secondary schools. In a survey of research on adolescent learning, Larsen and Dittman have noted that the body of such research is relatively thin compared to research on early childhood learning. In commenting on the current early childhood emphasis of Federal programs, the authors stress that adolescents have different learning needs that early intervention and concentration on basic skills -- even if successful -- cannot meet.[6] In discussing the current controversy over declining test scores for this age group, Jencks notes that it is not attainment of basic skills that is the major source of concern, but, rather, mastery of more complex learning skills, such as making inferences about what is read, being able to express ideas in coherent written paragraphs, and in the breadth or extent of reading that occurs.[7] Not only do adolescents mature physically at different rates during this agespan, but there is also significant variance in learning styles, aspirations, expectations, adaptation to adult roles, etc., as pointed out by the recent National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education.[8] A strong case is made by The Urban High School Reform Initiative Final Report for redirecting portions of Federal aid to secondary schools.[9]

460. Earlier sections of this report have documented the uneven availability of services across age groups through the different programs. This uneven distribution is in large part to the independent legislative initiatives which created the various programs and to budget constraints. However, availability of services is also affected by funds allocation mechanisms, i.e., formula distribution of funds or competitive grants. Thus, geographic location is often a factor determining whether a child participates in a program or not.

461. An issue of growing importance is the desire to improve the distribution systems of some student financial aid programs so that individual students in different geographic locations and with the same or similar needs are treated on an equitable basis. The current distribution system for the campus-based student aid programs involves three steps: funds are distributed to States by formula; within States, funds are distributed to postsecondary institutions on the basis of a panel review of projected needs; and ultimately, the institution's financial aid officer determines the amount of award going to the individual student. This current system of distributing funds has the potential for unequal responses to individuals with essentially identical needs.

Alternatives for Youth in Transition

462. At any age level, it would be desirable for individuals to be in a position to choose from an array of educational opportunities and alternatives. It is particularly important that disadvantaged youth at the secondary school level be aware of and offered help to pursue vocational education or to pursue further study in academically oriented higher education as two equally viable alternatives. Federal policies should promote these two alternatives as equally viable alternatives for youth. However, at present significantly more resources are available to young people seeking postsecondary academic education.

463. Efforts in vocational education for the disadvantaged are mostly intended to provide special services to youth who need special help or remedial services in order to succeed in regular vocational education programs. The implication in the policy is that the individual has already chosen the vocational education alternative.

464. In contrast, the purposes of Talent Search, Upward Bound, and Educational Opportunity Centers are to help and motivate youth to complete secondary school and to pursue postsecondary education. Although the language of the statutes and regulations includes postsecondary vocational education and technical schools, fully 75 percent of Upward Bound participants, for example, attend academically oriented four-year colleges or universities, indicating that this program tends to motivate students to choose the academically oriented path of continuing study.

THE SERVICE DELIVERY SITE

Question: What effect does the current array of programs have on effective management and attention to individual needs of children and youth at the local service delivery site?

465. Within the current Federal approach, services at the elementary and secondary level exhibit little coordination among programs serving similar populations and needs. For example, there could be, and are, projects of several programs such as ESAA, Bilingual Education, and Title I operating in the same local school. However, the Federal requirement for separate financial accounting for each project, prohibitions against local "commingling" of program funds, differing eligibility requirements, and separate local administrative staffs can inhibit cross-program coordination.

466. Federal programs also tend to generate certain conflicting signals which have served to confuse and impede local and State program administration. For example:

- Title I regulations and legislation provide a strong incentive to local administrators for pulling students out of classrooms for Title I instruction. This practice leads to a particularly strong form of tracking and within-school segregation. Both conflict with many observers' sense of good educational practice. Moreover, the pulled-out students are often taught by special teachers. This leads to problems in communication with regular classroom teachers and coordination of teaching practices for the students. Finally, in many cases, the students are actually removed from regular reading classes (within homerooms) to participate in pulled-out reading classes, with little net gain in actual instructional time.[10]

- Bilingual programs often have similar problems of tracking and segregation.

- In contrast, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act calls for instruction in the least restrictive setting -- "mainstreaming" in the regular classroom.

- Requirements for racial balancing of teachers within the schools of a district lead to other practices which can cause problems. In this instance the Federal government has two different approaches: (1) In Title VI violation cases, the Office for Civil Rights prescribes a maximum range of plus or minus 5 percentage points as a proportion of the total (e.g., in a school district with 8 percent minority faculty, all schools must fall within the range of 3-13 percent); (2) For purposes of eligibility under the Emergency School Assistance program, on the other hand, the maximum range is plus or minus 25 percent of the minority percentage (In the same district, this would mean a range of 6 to 10 percent because 25 percent of 8 percent is 2 percent, which is the permissible variation from the 8 percent minority population).

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ISSUES

Question: What effect does the current array of program management strategies have on the Federal/State/local relationship?

467. Coordination among governmental levels has become increasingly important with the recent expansion of State activities in traditional areas of Federal concern. Current Federal policies have not always succeeded in achieving the advantages that could be derived from a coordinated Federal/non-Federal effort. Some problems which have been identified include:

- Pass-through provisions which channel Federal funds by formula directly to school districts, bypassing the States. As a result, policies sometimes conflict with State policies and are often uncoordinated with them.

- Prohibitions against the commingling of Federal and non-Federal funds directed at similar purposes create unnecessary obstacles to the effective and complementary use of resources at State and local levels.

- A State which is particularly responsive to Federal education priorities is treated very much like any other State. Accordingly, States perceive no Federal incentive to go beyond minimally acceptable performance levels.

468. Accountability for most Federal programs often emphasizes input criteria rather than outputs. Grant recipients are thus inclined to place primary importance on showing the immediate use of Federal dollars rather than the ultimate educational effect of the program. Often fiscal controls can be mostly insensitive to differences in educational outcomes. Other serious criticisms include:

- Fiscal controls do not always achieve their stated purpose of preventing Federal displacement of the local education funding base.

- They represent a "worst-case" approach to the relationship between grant recipients and the Federal government. Thus, education agencies whose aims are fully congruent with Federal priorities are needlessly hampered.

- If excessive, they can contribute to higher administrative costs, thereby reducing the substantive impact of Federal grants on local education programs.
- As indicated earlier, they also lead to questionable educational practices like "pulling out" children for special instruction.

FEDERAL LEVEL ISSUES

Question: What are the impediments to better coordination of programs at the Federal level?

Different Program Approaches

469. Any effort to improve articulation across existing policies would, first and foremost, have to take into account the philosophical differences represented in varying program approaches to a given need. Sometimes these differences are more apparent than real; however, they surface dramatically in situations where careful partitioning of available resources is required, such as in budget discussions or in decisions about levels and placement of administrative staff.

470. Whether children in preschool and in the elementary and secondary grades should be provided comprehensive development services or strictly compensatory education instructional services is the basis of one such recurring debate. This issue recently emerged in 1978 when the Congress debated the inclusion of Head Start in a new Federal Department of Education. The possibility of including Head Start in a new Department of Education highlighted the philosophical differences between this comprehensive service program and Title I, ESEA.

Process Issues

471. There are also very real process issues that have an effect on the coordination of Federal programs for education of the disadvantaged.

472. Making and Refining Policy. The policymaking process itself presents one form of problem. The entire structure for developing, changing, and implementing policies is geared to program-by-program consideration and action. The Federal programs discussed in this analysis are embodied in several different pieces of legislation which are reviewed by the Congress on differing time schedules. The separate

policies fall under the jurisdiction of different administrative units in the Executive Branch and different committees and subcommittees of the Congress. The promulgation of regulations proceeds on different program time schedules. To permit comprehensive consideration of these programs, either considerable restructuring of several administrative and policy processes at the Federal level would have to occur or substantial -- and difficult -- coordination would have to take place. The newly organized Education Department presents a hopeful opportunity for re-examination of these issues and, possibly, for the improve coordination of these programs.

473. Administration. The administrative and accountability structures are unique for each program, based on individual -- and differing -- funds allocations policies, definitions of eligible beneficiaries, and eligibility requirements and measures. Although the extent to which the fiscal controls are specified differs across programs, there are some common strands. Among these are prohibitions against State or local commingling of Federal funds from separate appropriations and specific program-by-program requirements for submission of both fiscal and program performance reports. Steps have been taken recently to establish fewer and more consistent local/State reporting requirements in both fiscal and performance areas.

474. These and other administrative issues would have to be considered very carefully in planning any more cohesive strategy for education of the disadvantaged. Since the process we have built reflects the purposes embodied in various separate policies and programs, any proposed changes in process would require close attention to the impact they might have on the basic policies, purposes, and Federal role originally intended by the laws underlying them.

PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

475. As changes in United States efforts for education of the disadvantaged are now being discussed, they point in several different directions.

Federal Program Consolidation

476. There have been a number of proposals since the mid-1960s for the consolidation of various combinations of Federal categorical programs which serve children in elementary and secondary schools. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has described three types of consolidation that have been considered by the Congress.[11] In FY 1976, President Ford proposed a block grant approach that would have virtually eliminated Federal categorical control over 27 education programs (including Title I, ESEA) through consolidation into

one grant under the control of the States. This proposal was rejected by the Congress. In the 94th and 95th Congresses, a bill sponsored by Senators Domenici and Bellmon proposed "within purpose" consolidations that would have combined programs aimed at a particular target group (for example, educationally deprived children -- Title I, Head Start, Follow Through, etc.) into one grant. This proposal has been rejected in the Senate. A third kind of consolidation would bring together all programs aimed at the same general area of education, such as actually occurred under vocational education in FY 1976, when many programs in the Vocational Education Act were consolidated into the Basic Grants to States. Of the three types described, only the "within purpose" consolidation, because of its built-in incentive for States to participate and because of its provision for funds for State planning would have a sizable impact on the budget.

477. The major impact of the consolidation proposals would rest in the degree to which the current Federal role was changed; the shifts in the extent of categorical fiscal control maintained by the Federal government; the extent to which the original purposes of programs are preserved; and how intended beneficiaries or target populations of the various programs would fare if it were up to the States to choose among competing needs. These proposals would also affect the degree of State and local flexbility in using Federal funds and would probably reduce paperwork (applications, State plans, etc.) substantially.

General Aid

478. Many policymakers and interest groups such as the National Education Association (NEA) have long advocated general Federal aid to education. Simply put, such aid would be distributed to the State and local level by some formula (perhaps a simple capitation rate or a rate based on current per pupil expenditure) and would be used by State/local authorities as general revenue for education, with no further Federal control over use of funds.

479. Those who oppose a move toward general aid do so for several reasons. Adoption of any form of general aid would be a major departure from the current Federal role of education and might seriously alter the current emphasis on the disadvantaged and dilute the resources available to implement the present goals. Conversely, to ensure that disadvantaged students benefit to the extent they now do, very dramatic increases in Federal expenditures might be required.

480. Incremental Federal-Level Changes. A massive consolidation of Federal programs or adoption of general aid may be neither feasible nor desirable at this time. Major programs such as Title I and Education For All Handicapped Children appear to be both essential to the preservation of the Federal role in elementary and secondary education and politically secure. There is still probably room, however, for a significant enhancement of Federal program impact and a meaningful increase in cooperation through incremental changes to existing programs. Steps which could be taken include the following:

- Reducing Inconsistencies. Inconsistencies between different but functionally related programs are particularly irksome to State and local education agencies, and frequently contribute to confusion or cynicism about Federal objectives. Identifying and eliminating inconsistencies of this sort would be an essential step in rationalizing the Federal effort.
- Limited Combination of Related Programs. The consolidation of those separate programs for which there are no clearly different Federal imperatives would be another helpful step. This approach appears to be most feasible in the case of small programs which provide specialized types of support.
- Coordinating Programs with Similar Aims. Another helpful approach -- especially applicable to major programs -- involves grouping programs by functional objective. The separate existence of programs having basically similar aims contributes to confusion about Federal priorities, and leads to unnecessary administrative duplication. Consolidation by broad functional objective could put Federal priorities in sharper focus at all governmental levels.
- Integration of Research and Development with Service Program Efforts. The Federal government sponsors both national research in education and research aimed at improving particular programs. The Congress established the National Institute of Education to provide national leadership and support in educational research. NIE focuses on broad problems in American education and complements other research and development undertaken by Federal agencies. There is a need for improving coordination of Federal R&D efforts across the Education Department in general. The restructuring of research in the new Education Department will provide an opportunity to address this issue.

- Differentiated Relationships with States. One possible way to recognize and stimulate more appropriate Federal/State relationships is to scale Federal sanction to the degree of State noncompliance. Another would be to adopt a policy of relaxing more specific Federal administrative requirements as Federal standards of program performance are more closely approached by a State.

- Special Federal Incentives. At the State level, there is already considerable activity focused on literacy and teacher training which coincides with Federal program emphases. Where this is the case, the relaxation of prohibitions against commingling of funds might also be appropriate.

Alternative Program Control Structures

481. Improving program coordination is desirable, but program controls will remain necessary. Because Federal programs are set up to advance particular goals, there must continue to be mechanisms for monitoring and enforcing the attainment of these goals. A more flexible Federal stance on some administrative issues might allow the States and service-delivery sites to devise more effective, coordinated efforts on behalf of the disadvantaged. The argument for flexibility at the elementary and secondary level will be discussed below. At the postsecondary level, where fraud and abuse are increasingly important issues, more stringent controls may be needed.

482. Reduced Emphasis on Fiscal Controls. The key to improved implementation of Federal programs through a reduced emphasis on fiscal controls is greater selectivity and flexibility in their application. One current example of this sort is the provision in the Impact Aid Program (Section 5(d)(2)) which allows States with equalization programs to discount Federal Impact Aid payments in computing their own aid payments to localities. Not only is this a performance-based relaxation of fiscal controls, but it is also one which encourages cooperation by the States, and integrates otherwise separate Federal and State programs.

483. Process-Oriented Requirements. Past reliance on fiscal controls resulted in part from assumptions about the need to "police" the actions of local education agencies. Another factor contributing to a relatively content-free emphasis on dollars has been the traditional ban on direct Federal involvement in matters of curriculum. Further, knowledge of the relative effectiveness of alternative educational methods has generally been insufficient to warrant content-oriented prescriptions.

484. Planning Requirements. Short of direct measures of educational outcomes, enough is known to justify a significant increase in planning and process-oriented requirements. We know, for example, that Federal programs which rely exclusively on fiscal input measures are unlikely to generate commitment or involvement on the part of teachers and parents. The introduction of planning requirements at the local level is one possible means of addressing this problem. The current state of knowledge about effective educational practice would suggest several elements for planning.

- District-wide Needs Assessment. Shifts in local priorities to take account of program objectives offer one measure of Federal program impact. Federally mandated needs assessments can help to make local school officials and parent groups aware of differences in the educational needs being served by the various schools in the system.

- Individualized Education Plans (IEP). Particularly in compensatory education, there is no substitute for thinking about the needs and capabilities of children as individuals. The Education for All Handicapped Act breaks new ground by requiring individualized instruction plans for all affected students, and allows for appeals in cases where parents feel the plan is unacceptable.

- Parental and Community Involvement. The best way of guaranteeing that teachers and local school officials will carry out their planning obligations conscientiously is to require involvement on the part of those most affected. Plans to correct imbalances or address special needs should be developed in cooperation with parent and teacher groups, and the final plan made public. Similarly, parental involvement is essential for individualized instruction plans.

- School Building Level Plans. A number of these problems could be addressed under comprehensive educational plans developed and carried out at the school building level. A school level plan would address the needs of the various categories of students (Title I eligible, Handicapped, Bilingual) and could help avoid isolating strategies such as pull-outs or completely separate classes for the bilingual instruction. The burdens of the existing requirements fall upon the schools with large concentrations of Federally targeted children. Here in particular it might make great sense to have a schoolwide integrated strategy for delivering compensatory education. If it were linked with a parent council signoff on the plan, it could also serve as a local accountability mechanism and keep parents informed about the progress of the schools.

485. Performance Standards. Several kinds of performance standards have been suggested as simplifying mechanisms:

- Input or Resource Standards. At the local level, one approach is to track the Federal dollars to determine whether they are going to the "right" students. A second approach is to monitor the resources received by targeted students directly. A certain acceptable level of resources would have to be established for a Title I student, for example, and the LEA would be accountable for delivering that level on the average to its identified Title I students, irrespective of the source of funds. The level could, for example, be established at some specified amount above the average per pupil expenditures of the LEA (this is the approach embodied in the Title I legislation). This approach would allow commingling of Federal, State, and local funds to serve students with special needs, and would build upon the movement toward differential needs in the State equalization plans. Combined with school building plans, it could be very powerful. The new task of Federal monitors would be to focus on the educational resources and needs of particular children rather than on tracking the specific Federal dollar.

- Input or Resource Standards at the State Level. A similar approach could be used at the State level. Section 5(d)(2) of the Impact Aid program, for instance, establishes criteria that allow States with an adequately equalized finance system to discount Federal Impact Aid payments in computing the level of State aid. A similar approach could be used for any other major Federal program. If the States are already meeting Federal objectives on the basis of their own legislation and funding, there is no reason to require that they use Federal funds for other than general aid. Some systematic sampling for accountability purposes would be required by the Federal government, but the burden of proof would be shifted.

- Outcome Standards. Eventually it might be desirable to move to general education outcome standards to determine whether Federal objectives are being met. One such approach is used in the bilingual program. Here students are expected to move from transition bilingual classes when they become competent to deal with the curriculum in English. Another approach would piggyback on the States' movements toward competency-based graduation requirements. Some system for keeping track of a State's or LEA's progress in compensatory education or with the Handicapped might be linked to the minimum requirements that the States establish. Problems are inherent, however, in the variability that is likely to be found among States, as they establish minimum competency standards. Further, there is substantial resistance to the Federal government setting or substantially determining such standards on a nationwide basis.

ENLARGING THE FEDERAL ROLE TO DEAL WITH PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION FINANCE

486. Traditionally the Federal role in education has been a limited one, with carefully targeted programs designed to achieve incremental effects. A basic objective common to many of these programs, however, is the upgrading of educational opportunities for disadvantaged children, and it is doubtful that the Federal government can continue to make substantial progress in this area without eventually adopting a more comprehensive approach to education finance. Large disparities exist between districts and States with respect to resources available to support education. Geographic location is thus often the controlling factor in determining the extent of the child's educational opportunities. Inequalities of opportunity are further magnified by the fact that special-need populations tend to be concentrated in areas with lower fiscal capacity and/or higher educational costs.

Federal Support for Within-State Equalization

487. A number of States have implemented major reforms of their finance systems to reduce the association between per pupil expenditures and local fiscal capacity. In many other States, however, unequalized systems have not been restructured, and in some of the reform States it appears that remodeled systems will not reach adequate equalization levels. State adoption of Federal standards for equalizing State finance systems could be encouraged by:

- a new general support program;
- building funding incentives into existing programs (such as Title I and Education for All Handicapped Children) for States fulfilling equalization reform requirements;
- a strong grant effort by the Federal government in support of the development and implementation of Statewide equalization plans by States and localities;
- a combination of planning support with accompanying funding incentives through programs such as Handicapped and Title I.

This might encourage States to adopt, through legislation, Federal goals regarding the extra costs required for adequately educating certain children. Over a period of time, Federal aid could move to the equivalent of general aid as States legislate Federal objectives.

Interstate Equalization Support

488. Individual States differ widely in their revenues for education, and these differences are closely related to their fiscal capacity. Only the Federal government is in a position to reduce disparities of this kind. Current Federal aid allocations have only a marginal effect on reducing disparities across States, and in fact promoting such reductions may go beyond the appropriate Federal constitutional role. Further, to have any discernible effect, such an initiative by the Federal government would be very costly.

CONCLUSION

489. Clearly, the wider social equity we seek through our current education policies and programs can benefit from the ongoing policy evaluation and debate. It is also clear that a variety of strategic choices are available for improving the effectiveness of the current effort. Our most challenging task may be, finally, to devise a fiscal strategy that can simultaneously provide incentives for responsible State and local performance, innovation, and coordination without at the same time stifling creative programs or compromising necessary accountability for the use of Federal dollars. And, ultimately, that strategy must meet the fiscal test of all education programs, promoting sound educational practice and improving the availability, efficiency and quality of services to disadvantaged children.

GLOSSARY

ACYF	Administration for Children, Youth and Families (Department of Health and Human Services)
AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
AIR	American Institutes for Research
BEOG	Basic Education Opportunity Grant
CAA	Community Action Agency
CBO	Congressional Budget Office
CDA	Child Development Associate (credential)
CRS	Congressional Research Service (or Compensatory Reading Study)
CWS	College Work-Study (program)
EPDA	Education Professional Development Act
ESAA	Emergency School Aid Act
ESEA	Elementary and Secondary Education Act
FICE	Federal Interagency Council on Education
FY	Fiscal Year (October 1-September 30)
GAO	General Accounting Office
GNP	Gross National Product
HEW	Health, Education, and Welfare (Department)
HHS	Health and Human Services (Department, May 1980)
IHE	Institution of Higher Education
LEA	Local Education Agency
LESP	Limited English-speaking Proficiency
NCES	National Center for Education Statistics
NIE	National Institute of Education
NPRM	Notice of Proposed Rule-Making
OE	Office of Education
OED	Office of Evaluation and Dissemination (in OE)
OEO	Office of Economic Opportunity
PL	Public Law (as P.L. 94-142, the 142nd bill enrolled after passage by the 94th Congress)
SEA	State Education Agency
SEOG	Supplemental Education Opportunity Grant
SES	Socio-economic Status
SIE	Survey of Income and Education (Bureau of the Census)
SRI	Stanford Research Institute
SSIG	State Student Incentive Grant

NOTES TO CHAPTERS

CHAPTER II

[1] This section is taken from: *Progress of Education in the United States of America: 1976-77 and 1977 - 78*, U.S., Report for the Thirty-Seventh International Conference of Education, Sponsored by the UNESCO International Bureau of Education, to be held in Geneva, July 1979. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979., p. 1.

[2] Materials in this section are excerpted from the *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1977-78, NCES, DHEW, pp. 1-3.

[3] "These estimates are derived from data obtained in the annual fall surveys of the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and reported in *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20." Ibid. p. 1.

[4] In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional those State laws "permitting or requiring. . . segregation" in the schools on the basis of race. Such State laws denied to Black children the "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Although several lower court decisions and tangential Supreme Court decisions had led up to it, the *Brown* decision signaled the beginning of new interpretations and reliance on the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as the basis for ensuring equality of educational opportunity, not just in one State, but in the Nation as a whole.

[5] *Condition of Education*, 1978, NCES, DHEW, p. 66.

[6] National Center for Education Statistics estimate.

[7] *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1977-78, p. 60.

[8] *Digest of education Statistics*, 1965, p. 154.

[9] Includes expenditures of public and nonpublic schools at all levels of education (elementary and secondary, higher). *Digest of Education Statistics*, 1977-78, p. 23.

[10] Ibid., p. 23.

[11] Ibid., p. 73.

[12] Ibid., p. 67.

[13] Hogan, John C., The Schools, the Courts and the Public Interest, Lexington Books, Massachusetts, 1974.

[14] Ibid., p. 7.

[15] Sar Levitan, The Great Society's Poor Law, A New Approach to Poverty, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1969, p. 14.

[16] Ibid., p. 13.

[17] For a more complete discussion see Herman Miller, Poverty American Style, pp. 93-114.

[18] Daniel C. Rogers and Hirsch S. Ruchlin, Economics and Education: Principles and Applications, New York: Free Press, 1971, p. 166.

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[20] Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (New York: Basic Books, 1976). For one empirical analysis, see Alexander James Field, "Educational Expansion in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts: Human-Capital Formation or Structural Reinforcement?" Harvard Educational Review, 46 (1976), 521-52.

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[22] "Education of the Disadvantaged: A Problem of Human Diversity," in Education, Inequality, and National Policy, ed. Nelson F. Ashline, Thomas R. Pezzulo, and Charles I. Norris (Lexington Mass.: Heath, 1976), p. 106. Two seminal works in this literature are J. McVicker Hunt, Intelligence and Experience (New York: Ronald Press, 1961); and Benjamin S. Bloom, Stability and Change in Human Characteristics (New York: Wiley, 1965).

[23] Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), p. 216.

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[27] For a collection of critiques, see Federick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., On Equality of Educational Opportunity (New York: Random House, 1972).

[28] "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity," op. cit., p. 22.

[29] Christopher Jencks, Marshall Smith, Henry Acland, Mary Jo Bane, David Cohen, Herbert Gintis, Barbara Heyns, and Stephen Michelson, Inequality: A Reassessment of the Efect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Baine Books, 1972), p. 3.

[30] See Herbert Teitelbaum and Richard J. Hiller, "Bilingual Education: The Legal Mandate," Harvard Educational Review, 47 (1977), 138-70.

[31] "Policy vs. Program in the '70's," Public Interest, No. 20 (Summer 1970), p. 100.

[32] Several recent evaluation studies and reports produced under contract for OE and NIE, show a striking convergence of findings regarding factors influencing the success of educational programs in "A Research Perspective on Educational Improvement", unpublished HEW manuscript, October 1977.

[33] Donald M. Levine and Mary Jo Bane, eds., The "Inequality" Controversy: Schooling and Distributive Justice (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. 9.

[34] "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity," Harvard Educational Review, 38 (1968), p. 22.

[35] "Education of the Disadvantaged," op. cit., p. 115.

[36] "Why Our Schools Have Failed," Commentary, March 1968, pp. 33, 36-37, quoted in John A. Laska, Schooling and Education: Basic Concepts and Problems (New York: Van Nostrand, 1976), p. 235.

CHAPTER III

[1] Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education: An Examination of Alternative Federal Roles, Congressional Budget Office Report, January 1977, p. 43.

[2] P.L. 93-644, Title V, Part A, Section 511, (1).

[3] Lois-ellin Datta, "Another Spring, Other Hopes," chapter in Siegler, E. and Valentine, J. Project Head Start. Free Press, New York, New York, 1979.

[4] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[5] Datta, op. cit.

[6] National Survey of Head Start Graduates and Their Peers, Abt Associates, Inc., Cambridge, Mass., March 1978, Final Report.

CHAPTER V

[1] It should be noted that CETA has recently undergone the process of reauthorization in the Congress. Several changes were made in the Title structure of the legislation. This description reflects the Titles and authorities of the most recent amendments.

[2] In addition, 10 percent of the State grant was earmarked for similar emphasis on the physically and mentally handicapped.

[3] In the case of other eligible recipients (other than LEA's), the State must use, as the two most important facts, the recipient's relative financial ability to provide needed services

and the relative concentration of students it serves who impose higher than average costs (e.g., handicapped, disadvantaged, bilingual).

[4] Olympus Research, p. 75.

[5] The Notice of Interpretation states that "mainstreaming" is clearly the preferred strategy and that extra support, within the context of the regular vocational education class, should be provided through such means as assignment of special personnel to the class, special program modifications, special remedial education instruction, counseling, or other services. In these situations the Federal funds and the State and local matching funds may be used only to pay the excess costs that such special services incur over and above the regular costs for the vocational education program.

[6] The discussion of findings is taken from the Commissioner's Annual Evaluation Report, FY '77.

CHAPTER VI

[1] All data from the Commissioner's Annual Evaluation Report (RTI Evaluation).

CHAPTER VII

[1] This section is taken largely from the Commissioner's Annual Evaluation Report, 1978.

[2] The HEP Survey did not include proprietary or public vocational schools.

CHAPTER IX

[1] For more extensive discussion of this issue see, for example: Youth: Transition to Adulthood, Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee, GPO, Washington, D.C., June 1973;

A. Harry Passow, Secondary Education Reform: Retrospect and Prospect, Teacher College, Columbia University, New York, April 1976; The Education of Adolescents: The Final Report and Recommendations of the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education and Early Adolescence: Reviewing Our National Strategy, 1975.

[2] Although secondary school students can be included in Title I programs, less than 2 percent of children participating nationally are in grades 9-12. (See Chapter IV.)

[3] See, for example, Wolf, Allison, "EEO, Part II, Review of the Literature," an internal National Institute of Education paper.

[4] Hearings Before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, 89th Congress, 1st Session. January 26, 29, February 1, 2, 4, 8, and 11, 1965. Part 2, p. 632.

[5] See Chapter IV for a discussion of the formula for allocating Title I funds.

[6] See, for example, James et al., Wealth, Expenditure and Decisionmaking for Education, Part II, p. 129.

[7] Hearings, op.cit., p. 633.

CHAPTER X

[1] All charts and tables in this chapter are reprints from the series Condition of Education, produced by the National Center for Education Statistics, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

[2] This is not a surprising finding since the funds are distributed primarily on the basis of number of poor children. For a more complete discussion of these results, see Title I Funds Allocation: The Current Formula, a Report from the National Institute of Education, September 30, 1977, p. 94.

[3] See Chapter IV, and the Title I case study in the appendix for a more complete discussion.

[4] This section is taken from the NIE study cited above.

[4] This section is taken from the NIE study cited above.

[5] "There are no clear theoretical grounds for preferring one estimate to the other; for example, it is possible that one tends to overestimate and the other to underestimate the effect of Title I. However, the differences between the two estimates is of the same magnitude as their standard errors, indicating that a true value between 57 cents and 72 cents would be consistent with either." Title I Funds Allocation, op.cit.

[6] There are five major United States Office of Education student assistance programs: Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (BEOG); Supplementary Educational Opportunity Grants (SEOG); College Work-Study (CWS); National Direct Student Loans (NDSL); and Guaranteed Student Loans (GSL). While these interrelated aid programs have a very positive effect upon enrollment in and completion of postsecondary education, it is important to remember that among all students, parental contributions are the largest source of funds.

[7] The next most frequently cited source of aid was State grants (21 percent), followed by College Work-Study (16 percent), GSL loans (13 percent), NDSL loans (11 percent), and SEOG grants (9 percent). In comparison, about 80 percent of the freshmen received aid from their parents.

[8] As an historical sidelight on the dimensions of the Federal aid package before the inception of the BEOG, the recipit of aid also was inversely related to family income, and students from low-income families were more likely to receive aid than those from higher income families. Among racial/ethnic groups, white students were least likely to receive aid and black students most likely. When classified by ability, only students of highest ability report a higher than average rate of receipt of aid. Type of institution attended also affected the probability of receiving aid, with those attending private institutions reporting a higher incidence of aid. Overall, about 56 percent of the students received some form of aid.

[9] See for example the Abt Study and the recent GAO study of Head Start cited in Chapter II.

[10] See USOE, OPBE 1978a and 1978b cited in Chapter IV.

[11] Other instances of variation in local delivery of program services are noted in Chapters III-VIII.

CHAPTER XI

[1] This chapter is an elaboration of an extensive internal policy paper prepared by OE's Assistant Commissioner for Policy Studies, Marshall Smith and Alan Ginsburg, of the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, DHEW, in 1977 prior to the reauthorization of ESEA. That paper is quoted extensively here and is used with the explicit approval of the authors.

[2] Precise figures on amount of funds expended for K-6 Title I have not been calculated. However, the fact that less than 2 percent of Title I participants nationally are in grades 9-12 is sufficient to establish the point. These figures do not include, of course, funds from other programs noted in Chapter IV serving disadvantaged children in the elementary/secondary levels.

[3] Precise calculation of this amount is not possible with existing data; however, since the total of the Federal vocational education funds targeted specifically for the disadvantaged in 1978 was over $100 million, and since evaluation indicates that roughly 65 percent of the participants in 1976 were in secondary school, we can guess that this is a reasonably close figure.

[4] For more extensive discussion of this issue, see for example: *Youth: Transition to Adulthood, Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee*, GPO, Washington, D.C., June 1973; A. Harry Passow, *Secondary Education Reform: Retrospect and Prospect*, Teacher College, Columbia University, New York, April 1976; *The Education of Adolescents: The Final Report and Recommendations of the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education and Early Adolescence: Reviewing Our National Strategy*, 1975.

[5] Bloom, Benjamin. *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics*, New York, Wiley, 1964, p. 127.

[6] See Larsen, M. and Dittman, F. "Compensatory Education and Early Adolescence: Reviewing Our National Strategy," SRI International, Educational Policy Research Center, May 1976.

[7] Jencks, Christopher. "The Wrong Answer for Schools Is: (b) Back to Basics', *Washington Post*, February 19, 1978, p. C-1.

[8] *The Education of Adolescents: The Final Report and Recommendations of the National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education and Early Adolescence: Reviewing Our National Strategy*, Washington, D.C., 1975.

[9] Burns, Thomas J. et al. The Urban High School Reform Initiative Final Report, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., September 1979.

[10] For more information on various aspects of the pull out strategy see 'Pull Out' in Compensatory Education, Glass, Gene V. and Smith, Mary Lee; Laboratory of Educational Research, University of Colorado. Paper prepared for the U.S. Office of Education, Office of the Commissioner.

[11] This discussion is drawn largely from two reports by the Congressional Budget Office. Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education: An Examination of Alternative Federal Roles (January 1977); and Federal Assistance for Postsecondary Education: Options for FY 79, April 1978.

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CHAPTER VIII

Parts of this chaper are taken directly from, or adapted from, existing public documents including the legislation, the program regulations and the Annual Evaluation Report(s) of Programs Administered by the U.S. Office of Education 1976, 1977 and 1978. For further research and documentation the reader is referred to the following:

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APPENDIX OF CASE STUDIES

HEAD START

TITLE I, ESEA

TEACHER CORPS

HEAD START -- A CASE STUDY

CAPSULE DESCRIPTION

1. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 emphasized training, work, and community coordination of social services as the major strategy for breaking the poverty cycle for disadvantaged in American society. Programs of training were aimed at youth in the 16- to 22-year-old group, and the initial war on poverty strategy provided little in the way of program services or emphasis for younger children. There were, however, strong proponents of the notion that an early childhood program providing comprhensive child development services could begin to break the poverty cycle at its earliest stages.

2. President Johnson established a panel of child development experts in 1964 to design a program for community-based efforts to overcome the disadvantages facing preschool children in low-income families. Public pressure for an early childhood program and the difficulties faced by the administration in committing all the funds Congress had allocated for the Community Action Program in the first year of the antipoverty effort were some of the factors that led to an announcement by President Johnson on January 12, 1965, that a preschool program would be funded under the antipoverty program. Project Head Start was officially announced by OEO in the winter of 1965. The program was intended to provide comprehensive health, education, and social services to children of poor families to enable them to reach their full potential and readiness for formal schooling. The intention of OEO was to launch an experimental, eight-week summer program (in 1965) costing around $17 million and serving approximately 100,000 children from poor families.

3. The response of the program by communities throughout the country far exceeded OEO's expectations, and ultimately $96.4 million was committed to serve 561,0900 children in Head Start projects during the summer of 1965. The program rapidly established itself as a popular component of the antipoverty policies, and during the first summer of operation the President announced that Project Head Start would be expanded to a year-round program. The program was also well received by the Congress as is reflected in budget increases since the program's inception (see Table A-1).

4. The major expansion of the program during the early years occurred in the number of full-year programs, with the number of summer programs remaining relatively constant and then beginning to decline. In its 14-year history, a total of over 6.7 million children have been served by Head Start at a cost of over $5.1 billion. The number of children to be served by the program in 1979 is estimated at 429,500.

5. In 1969, Federal administration of the Head Start program was transferred from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (DHEW). The program is currently administered by the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families (ACYF) with the Department of Health and Human Services.

6. In the Head Start program, grants are awarded by the Federal government directly to community based public and private organizations, including some public school systems. Federal management involves DHHS regional offices in the approving of proposals, the monitoring of projects, providing training and technical assistance, and disbursing of funds. Although the Office of the Governor in each State has the opportunity to review and approve each project submitted by community organizations within that particular State, the program is a direct Federal-to-local grant program. It is community-based and is operated independent of any State agency.

PROGRAM GOALS

7. Head Start is a national program designed to provide Federal financial assistance to local communities to plan, conduct, adminster, and evaluate a comprehensive child development project for children, primarily from low-income families, who have not reached the age of compulsory school attendance. The major goals as stated in official program documents are to: (1) provide such comprehensive health, nutritional, educational, social, and other services as well aid the children to attain their full potential, and (2) provide for direct participation of the parents of such children in the development, conduct, and overall program direction at the local level. The program is based on the premise that all children share certain needs and that children of low-income families, in particular, can benefit from a comprehensive developmental program that is interdisciplinary and that closely involves the family and community. Head Start aims at bringing about a greater degree of social competence in children of low-income families; that is, the effectiveness with which such children deal with their present environment and are prepared to deal with later demands and responsibilities in the formal school setting. Goals are to raise the degree of social competence and intellectual development, physical and mental health, and meet nutritional needs. Consequently, each local project must provide for:

- improving the child's health and physical abilities;
- encouraging the child's self-confidence, spontaneity and self-discipline;

- enhancing the child's congitive and communication skills;
- establishing expectations for the child's success;
- increasing the abilities of the child and family to relate to one another; and
- enhancing the sense of dignity and self-worth in both the child and his or her family.[1]

8. While the primary goals of Head Start are to provide direct services to disadvantaged children and their families, national program administrators are also concerned with ongoing improvement of quality of service delivery. These goals center on the development of performance standards, self-assessment tools, career development and training of staff at all levels and in all program areas of Head Start, and the development of demonstration and pilot projects that offer alternative program approaches that local projects might adopt. The improvement and innovation efforts of the Federal administration, however, are intended to be supportive of the primary policy of providing for intervention in the earliest stages of life of disadvantaged children to forestall the effects of poverty on early childhood development and directly to assist and motivate Head Start parents.

PROGRAM SCOPE

9. The total budget for Head Start has grown from $96.4 million in FY 1965 to $625 million in FY 1978. As Table A-1 indicates, there was rapid expansion of the program in the first three years of operation, largely as a result of expansion of Head Start from a summer program to a full-year program and the unexpected popular appeal that the program generated. The program has also experienced a dramatic increase in funding since FY 1977. The increase in funds is intended to provide for expansion of the program in local areas already served by Head Start projects, and to provide for new projects in areas not presently served. At present, the program is locally administered by 1,350 grantees, located in all the States, territories, and outlying areas.[2] The national budget for Head Start provides for a set-aside of 2 percent for distribution of the territories and outlying areas, 20 percent for discretionary use by the Secretary of HEW, and the remaining 78 percent for allocation to local projects. Funds for program operations within each State are distributed on the basis of two factors: the relative number of public assistance recipients in each State as compared to all States, and the relative number of related children living with families with income below the poverty line.

TABLE A-1. Head Start Enrollment and Funding

Children	Full Year [1]	Summer	Total
1965	—	561,000	561,000
1966	160,000	573,000	733,000
1967	215,000	466,000	681,400
1968	217,000	476,825	694,525
1969	213,456	421,665	635,121
1970	239,552	195,328	434,880
1971	296,486	123,485	419,971
1972	292,600	86,400	379,000
1973	292,600*	86,400	379,000
1974	310,000*[2]	69,000	379,000
1975	303,000	46,000	349,000
1976	303,000	46,000	349,000
1977 (est.)	296,000	26,000	333,000*
1978	363,500	26,000	400,500*
1979	392,500	26,000	429,500*

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[1] Includes children enrolled in Parent and Child Centers and Research and Demonstration programs, 1969-77.

[2] Decrease is due to exclusion of siblings of children enrolled in Parent and Child Center programs. Prior to 1975 these children had been included in the count.

* Includes 11,000 children associated with research and demonstration programs.

Funding FY 1965 - 1977

	Current Dollars		1967 Constant Dollars
1965	96,400,000		
1966	198,900,000		
1967	349,200,000		354,158,215
1968	316,200,000		310,304,219
1969	333,900,000	[3]	312,640,449
1970	325,700,000		287,975,243
1971	353,500,000	(+6,500,000 for S&E)	297,058,823
1972	369,500,000	(+7,400,000 for S&E)	299,675,587
1973	392,200,000		305,928,237
1974	392,200,000	[4]	280,744,452
1975	441,000,000		284,149,484
1976	454,000,000		273,465,703
1977	475,000,000		270,193,401
1978	625,000,000		333,155,650
1979	680,000,000	(proposed in President's Budget)	338,814,150

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[3] Includes $5,000,000 supplemental appropriation from FY 1968.

[4] Appropriation was $407,600,000. This amount was reduced by $15,500,000.

SOURCE: Program Operations Data

10. In FY 1977 Head Start provided services to 349,000 children representing an estimated 17 percent of the eligible population nationwide. These children were served in 9,400 centers employing about 66,000 professionals and nonprofessionals. The projects were assisted by 95,000 volunteers, including many parents. In FY 1978, 400,500 children were served, representing approximately 21 percent of the eligible population. The program expansion effort initiated in FY 1978 is intended to encompass an additional 67,500 children to be served by the program. Target enrollments for each State have been determined by the Federal authorities and were published in the Federal Register on April 21, 1978 (see Table A-2).

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

11. Legal Framework: The formal legal framework for the Head Start program consists of the authorizing legislation (Title V, Part A, of the Head Start, Economic Opportunity and Community Partnership Act of 1974, as amended) the Regulations, and the Head Start Policy Manual. The legislation is reviewed every three years by the Subcommittee on Employment, Poverty, and Migratory Labor in the Senate and consequently was under review in fiscal year 1978. Budget appropriations are included as part of the regular DHEW budget request and are assigned to the regular DHEW appropriations committees in the Congress. Regulations, or parts thereof, are revised as appropriate when the legislation is amended or as further clarification of existing statutes or conditions indicates a need. The latest proposed revision of Regulations occurred in April of 1978 and reflect the most recent amendments to the authorizing legislation.

12. Major Program Requirements: The formal legal framework for Head Start contains a number of major requirements governing funds allocation and program development. Requirements for funds allocation are intended to assure that Head Start monies reach beneficiaries intended by the Congress; that projects are truly community based, reflect sound management, and do not replace local services; and that parents are substantially involved in the project.

13. The program development requirements deal with the nature of services to be provided to children and parents and are detailed later in the section titled Program Services.

TABLE A-2. Head Start Allocations for Fiscal Year 1978

Region	Total FY 1978 Funding Level (1)	Total Funds for Expansion in FY 1978 (2)	Additional Children to be Served FY 1978-79 (3)	Total Funded Environment Level (4)
Region 1				
Connecticut	65,050,952	$ 2,234,814	1,748	3,942
Maine	2,302,686	—	—	1,403
Massachusetts	12,967,522	3,620,622	1,864	6,690
New Hampshire	1,215,603	—	—	651
Rhode Island	1,859,719	485,405	310	1,155
Vermont	1,300,707	—	—	794
Region 2				
New Jersey	16,122,624	3,793,489	1,755	7,319
New York	41,020,426	9,632,507	3,744	16,044
Puerto Rico	32,668,488	5,336,218	3,106	13,570
Virgin Islands	1,261,358	201,962	84	998
Region 3				
Delaware	1,344,115	—	—	737
District of Columbia	4,329,751	—	—	1,665
Maryland	7,423,396	2,012,902	1,127	4,156
Pennsylvania	23,802,987	9,544,936	5,143	12,730
Virginia	7,590,999	388,428	222	4,380
West Virginia	6,744,793	—	—	3,531
Region 4				
Alabama	13,417,367	—	—	8,802
Florida	14,711,230	—	—	10,312
Georgia	13,698,724	2,902,868	1,855	8,365
Kentucky	12,883,860	—	—	9,522
Mississippi	43,535,089	—	—	29,879
North Carolina	13,612,419	—	—	9,438
South Carolina	8,273,529	—	—	5,974
Tennessee	11,472,205	—	—	8,444
Region 5				
Illinois	29,710,687	11,039,657	7,032	18,801
Indiana	7,724,346	—	—	5,435
Michigan	32,584,882	12,060,330	8,981	16,700
Minnesota	6,062,236	—	—	3,875
Ohio	24,056,839	8,889,397	6,725	18,024
Wisconsin	7,910,134	1,853,929	1,199	5,011

Region	Total FY 1978 Funding Level (1)	Total Funds for Expansion in FY 1978 (2)	Additional Children to be Served FY 1978-79 (3)	Total Funded Enviroonment Level (4)
Region 6				
Arkansas	6,794,940	—	—	5,158
Louisiana	11,776,042	—	—	8,339
New Mexico	3,506,964	—	—	3,386
Oklahoma	8,316,977	—	—	6,546
Texas	23,810,755	2,697,948	2,171	18,298
Region 7				
Iowa	4,143,430	—	—	2,721
Kansas	4,005,389	—	—	2,520
Missouri	11,540,467	—	—	8,327
Nebraska	2,541,105	—	—	1,633
Region 8				
Colorado	6,318,925	—	—	4,135
Montana	1,619,445	—	—	961
North Dakota	722,057	73,280	57	435
South Dakota	1,215,649	307,326	212	782
Utah	2,023,742	254,934	176	1,364
Wyoming	912,080	—	—	536
Region 9				
Arizona	4,813,450	1,433,508	833	2,778
California	51,970,804	19,666,983	8,629	23,063
Hawaii	2,365,803	—	—	1,073
Nevada	795,611	129,730	60	380
Territories (American Samos, Guam, Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas Islands)	1,618,642	622,878	540	2,109
Region 10				
Alaska	1,742,947	—	—	800
Idaho	1,626,921			
Oregon	4,497,421	1,867,474	983	2,375
Washington	5,959,745	158,410	97	3,642
Indian & Migrant Program Division				
Programs serving American Indian & Native Alaskan children	19,504,000	6,350,000	3,929	12,126
Programs serving children of migratory farm workers	12,697,280	6,350,000	4,956	10,408

14. Eligible Grantees: Part of the uniqueness of Head Start is the element of community control of projects. A major feature of the Economic Opportunity Act and resultant programs was the heavy reliance on the curative or self-help approach that was intended to be grassroots oriented. The policy contemplated the communities themselves would decide what kinds of services and projects were needed in the local area; within Federal guidelines, local grantees would design and administer these efforts directly. The agency for receiving and expending Federal funds was to be a local community action agency (CAA), representative of the poor. The advantages, disadvantages, merits, and problems of the strategy have been dealt with extensively in the literature analyzing the war on poverty programs. For Head Start, the concept of locally based community control of projects is still intact. Head Start grantees may be any local public or private nonprofit organization that meets the following basic criteria stated in the regulations:

- The organization has established legal status and is chartered according to the applicable laws of the State within which it is located and is empowered to receive and administer funds (including transfer of funds) from Federal, State, local, and private sources to be used in support of a Head Start program.

- The organization has submitted an application and is judged by the responsible Federal officials to be capable of planning, conducting, administering and evaluating, either directly or by other arrangements, a Head Start program.

15. Final selections of local project grantees are based on which competing applications provide the most reasonable promise of the applicant's willingness and ability to provide an effective program. These qualities are judged on the basis of the cost effectiveness of the proposed project, adequacy of the provisions made for parent participation in the project's planning and implementation, opportunities for employment of target area residents, the applicant's experience in operating community child development services, suitability of facilities, and the applicant's administrative and fiscal capabilities.

16. Many grantees operate a Head Start center themselves; however, the grantee is allowed to contract with a delegate agency to conduct actual operations. The grantee, however, is the accountable party for compliance with the Federal legal framework and for program quality.

17. Local school districts may become grantees, and CAA grantees may also delegate Head Start program responsibilities to these local education agencies (LEAs). Grantees must demonstrate that funds provided under Head Start will be in addition to, and not substitute for, comparable services previously provided without Federal assistance. This requirement is particularly significant in regard to the growth since 1965 of preschool and kindergarten services provided or required by most States. Head Start adjusts to these conditions by serving only those children below the compulsory school ages.

18. Grantees for currently operational local projects enjoy funding priority provided that they continue to operate in conformity with the law and regulations and show reasonable progress in reaching their established objectives. This funding policy has resulted in a situation whereby communities that first received grants in the earliest years of the program have been renewed annually since then. Since there has been little new money added to the total appropriation, other than funds to cover rises in inflation in existing projects, few new grantees have been funded since 1967-68.

19. One additional element in the funds allocation process is the requirement that eligible grantees match the Federal funding by providing 20 percent of total program costs. The 20 percent match may be in the form of cash or in-kind services, including local provision of facilities, equipment, or services that would not have been provided in the absence of Federal assistance. The legal framework also provides for an annual audit of the records of each project by an independent auditor.

20. Participation: Primary consideration for participation in Head Start is given to children of low-income families. In support of this policy, the Secretary of DHEW has issued regulations requiring that local projects must demonstrate that 90 percent of the children to be served in a project are thus qualified. Eligibility of individual children is determined prior to enrollment of the child. No more than 10 percent of the project participants may be from families who do not meet the low-income criterion. This requirement is based on the belief that children from low-income families are those with the greatest need for comprehensive development services and that low-income families are least likely to have access to such services.

21. In addition, statutory language specifically requires that at least 10 percent of the enrollment opportunities in each State must be available to physically or mentally handicapped children. Special consideration is also given in the program to the needs of American Indian children and children of migratory workers. In FY 1978 approximately $34.5 million

was set aside from the Secretary's discretionary funds to provide special projects for these children; in the program expansion effort, Head Start will attempt to serve an additional 8,887 such children. Finally, the equitable distribution of services between residents of rural and urban areas is an important consideration.

22. Although local project applications are approved on an annual basis, a child who has been determined eligible maintains that status for the current year and the next year regardless of changes in family income. This provision is written into the regulations and reflects the belief of DHEW that the element of continuity is important to the child and the family.

23. Process: An organization that wishes to operate a Head Start project submits an application or grant proposal each year to the appropriate DHEW regional office. The regional office processes and approves and disapproves the grant giving priority, as noted above, to existing grantees. The regional office is responsible, in addition, for providing technical assistance to grantees in the region and for monitoring local operations.

PROGRAM SERVICES

24. Services to Children: The basic requirement regarding services to be provided in each project is that such services are to be "...comprehensive health, nutritional, educational, social and other services as will aid the children to attain their full potential."[3] Program regulations have expanded upon this statement to provide extensive guidance regarding the requirements and standards that each project must meet. In July 1975, DHEW published the Head Start Program Performance Standards as part of its Policy Manual.

25. The document is organized to provide not only specific standards and objectives for each of the four service components, but also guidance in satisfying the individual standards. Each grantee is required to submit a plan detailing the needs, problems, strategies for delivery, and other information that is pertinent to carrying out a truly comprehensive program that incorporates the elements of health (including mental health and nutrition), education, and social services. Federal requirements do not specify percentages of local project budgets that will be devoted to each component. However, in approving project applications, Federal officials must be satisfied that each component has been sufficiently addressed and that differences in local conditions, resources, and needs have been adequately weighed to ensure the best use of all resources to accomplish the aims of the program.

The goal of all the components is to promote the physical, social, emotional and intellectual growth and social competence of the participating children. Integration of each component into daily program activities is considered essential to the component's success. The major expectations for each component are summarized below.

26. The objectives of the education services component of the Head Start program are to provide children with a learning environment and the varied experiences which will help them develop socially, intellectually, physically, and emotionally; involve parents in educational activities of the program; assist parents to increase their knowledge of a child's growth and development, and reinforce experiences in the home that parents can utilize as educational activities for their children.

27. The general objectives of the health services component of the Head Start program are to provide a comprehensive health services program which includes a broad range of medical, dental, mental health, and nutrition services to preschool children, including handicapped children; promote preventive health services and early intervention; and to attempt to link the family to an ongoing health care system to ensure that the child continues to receive comprehensive health care even after learving the Head Start program.

28. The objectives under nutrition in the health services component of the Head Start program are to provide food which will help meet the child's daily nutritional needs in the child's home or in another clean and pleasant environment; help staff, child, and family to understand the relationship of nutrition to health; and to apply this knowledge in the development of sound food habits even after leaving the Head Start program; and to involve all staff, parents, and other community agencies in meeting the child's nutritional needs so that nutritional care provided by Head Start complements and supplements that of the home and community.

29. The objectives under mental health in the health services component of the Head Start program are to assist all children participating in the program in emotional, cognitive, and social development; provide handicapped children and children with special needs with the necessary mental health services and to mobilize community resources to ensure that the child and family achieve the full benefits of participation in the program; provide for prevention, early identification, and early intervention in problems that interfere with a child's development; and to develop a positive attitude toward mental health services and a recognition of the contribution of psychology, medicine, social services, education, and other disciplines to the mental health program.

30. The objectives of the social services component of the performance standards plan are to establish and maintain an outreach and recruitment process which systematically ensures enrollment of eligible children; enroll eligible children regardless of race, sex, creed, color, national origin, or handicapping condition; achieve parent participation in the activities of the center and the home program; assist the family in its own efforts to improve the condition and quality of family life; and facilitate parents' use of community services and resources.

31. Parent Participation: Through the Performance Standards the various requirements are related to the role of the parents, the home, and the direct involvement of parents in the project. In addition, a special section of the Performance Standards details the overall objectives of parent involvement. Regulation and guidance materials stress that while project staff must actively encourage parent participation, actual participation by parents is entirely voluntary and cannot be a requirement for enrolling an eligible child in a Head Start project.

32. The objectives of the parent involvement component of the Performance Standards are to provide a planned program of experiences and activities which support and enhance the parental role as the principal influence in their child's education and development.

33. To enhance the prospects of success for projects, local staff provide direct services to parents to foster parenting skills. These services might include experiences and activities in support of their own skills, self-confidence, and sense of independence; understanding of child development concepts and how to provide educational and developmental activities in the home; health, mental health, dental and nutritional education; identification and use of family and community resources to meet basic life support needs; identification of opportunities for continuing education; and encouragement to discuss and actively be involved with the child's daily development.

34. In addition, the program is intended to provide parents with opportunities for direct involvement in program decision making, and participation in program activities as paid employees, volunteers, or observers.

35. Secondary Services: In addition to services provided directly to participants and parents, the national Head Start staff provides for technical assistance, research, and other support services designed to increase the quality and effectiveness of local projects. Of particular importance to this review are the Experimental Projects now operating under the national improvement effort. As noted in program information documents, the projects provide services to children, parents, and staff in the following ways:

- Home Start, a project designed to determine the best ways parents, with the help of Center staff members, can provide their children with full developmental services in home situations. After five years of development, and testing in 16 sites, these efforts have led to the establishment of six special Home Start training projects which are now instructing many parents and staff home visitors in the selection, development, and use of appropriate curriculum materials and in the establishment of comprehensive, home-based Head Start programs. As a result, approximately 20 percent of Head Start's grantees are now combining home-based and Center-based programs.

- The Child and Family Resource Program, launched in 1973 to make family-oriented, comprehensive child development services available to children from the prenatal period through age eight. Eleven CFRP projects use local Head Start programs as a base to develop a communitywide system.

- Parent and Child Centers, established to provide health and developmental services to low-income families with children under age three. In 33 Parent and Child Centers across the nation, parents are helped to create a beter home environment for their very young children and to obtain community services when they are required.

- Developmental Continuity Project, in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education, is designed to achieve greater continuity of child development and educational services for Head Start children as they make the transition from home to preschool to school. In 14 demonstration sites, Head Start is working with preschools and schools to this end.

- Collaboration with the Medicaid Early and Periodic Screening, Diagnosis, and Treatment Program, a joint project with the Social and Rehabilitation Service of HEW, to help make EPSDT services available to some 125,000 Medicaid-eligible children, aged 0-6. The Administration for Children, Youth, and Families provides special funds to 200 Head Start grantees to assist them in making better use of these Medicaid services for Head Start children.

- Services to Handicapped Children, a major effort in cooperation with the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped which is intended to encourage joint action between Head Start and SEAs and LEAs to assure handicapped individuals to full opportunities under their respective programs. Fifteen Resource Access Projects have been funded across the nation, with the mandate to assist Head Start projects and State and local educational agencies in developing cooperative activities by distributing program information relevant to the special needs of handicapped children.

- The Child Development Associate Program, created to identify a new kind of professional in the childcare field. CDAs are trained childcare workers whose credentials are based on their skills in working with young children rather than on academic credits. Several years ago the ACYF funded 13 Child Development Associate pilot projects, and since then has incorporated CDA training into its Head Start staff training plans. Some 10,000 Head Start classroom workers are now striving to acquire a CDA credential.

PROGRAM RESULTS

36. Unlike programs for the disadvantaged administered by the Office of Education, the ACYF is not required to submit a comprehensive annual evaluation report to the Congress on Head Start. However, since 1973, the program has been required to submit an annual report to the Congress on Head Start services provided to handicapped children. The legislation also requires the Federal level to provide for continuing evaluation of the program, and this is accomplished through a variety of program research contracts and ongoing regional monitoring of local project quality and compliance.

37. Project Quality Control: In addition to annual independent audits of local project operations, each local project is required to form a team which includes parents, for completing the program Performance Standards Self-Assessment/Validation Instrument. Training for the self-assessment process is provided to the team. The self-assessment instrument is a restatement of the Head Start Performance Standards in question form. Local program staff as well as the DHEW regional offices together judge each standard for compliance with the requirements. When completed, the document is delivered to the regional offices of Head Start for staff evaluation. Additionally, each regional office staff is expected to conduct an onsite monitoring of one-third of the region's projects annually at which time the self-assessment instrument is verified. The final document bears the signature of the Project Director, the chairperson of the local Head Start Policy Council or committee and the members of the self-assessment team.

38. National Evaluations: Since 1965, the Federal government has provided funds to conduct national evaluations of Head Start. The studies have focused on representative summer and full-year Head Start projects. In 1975, the Federal staff embarked on a new series of studies that will include as subjects parent services, health and nutrition, services to handicapped children, and educational services and delivery. The first of these was conducted by Abt Associates and focused on the transition of Head Start children to the first year of formal school; in some limited ways, it also investigated a number of aspects of the total program.

39. The General Accounting Office (GAO) also performed a major study of Head Start in 1975. Unfortunately, the sample was quite small, and the findings may not be generalizable to the entire Head Start universe. Nevertheless, the recommendations were significant to program personnel in that they underscored several of their concerns regarding program management. The GAO study will be updated in FY 1978 to assess the extent to which ACYF has succeeded in rectifying deficiences.

40. Special Features of Head Start Evaluations: The history of popular faith in Head Start has followed a pattern similar to other Great Society programs. In the earlier years from 1966-68, evaluations showed strongly positive and immediate effects of the program on children. But a study in 1969 conducted by Westinghouse, Inc., presented evidence of a lack of persistence of those immediate effects

effects into the primary grades. This study and others that followed in the next few years signalled the beginning of a period of disillusionment, paralleling the general disillusionment with intervention programs and with schooling in general. However, since 1975 there has been a change in popular opinion about what the Head Start evaluations show, and a general reconsideration of what should be measured, how to measure it, and what our expectations for Head Start should be.

41. In general, the meaning of findings for future policy decisions regarding Head Start must be considered from two perspectives: the immediate effect of the program on children, families, and the community; and the long term effects on children and families once the program experience has ended.

42. The design of evaluation studies must consider the interdisciplinary, comprehensive nature of the program. Unlike other Federal programs that rely primarily on measures of academic performance, Head Start evaluations must consider its differing emphases for different participants, including professional and paraprofessional staff and volunteers, as well as the overall context within which child and family development takes place. The difficulties of measuring a child's social competence -- a major goal in Head Start -- have not been resolved. The lack of an easily administered, relevant, and reliable battery of measures continues to hamper national Head State evaluations. A research contract is currently underway to develop such a battery of measures.

43. Head Start evaluation designs have also had to recognize the changing nature of the field of preschool education over the past few years; they must now consider differences in the composition of control groups since more and more children of all socioeconomic levels have some preschool training. The most recent national study (The Transition Study) also points up a change in opinion regarding the efficiency of statistical adjustments to account for differences in seriously noncomparable groups. In that study, the data for white non-Head Start children and families were not analyzed because the levels of their background characteristics, such as higher levels of parent education, income, and two-parent households, were so different from those of Head Start children and families.

Process Findings

44. Who is Served and Where: The most recent national evaluation of Head Start was conducted under a contract to Abt Associates and was completed in March 1978. The study focused on the transition of Head Start graduates to primary school, and included suggestive findings on changes in school readiness and social competence, especially among black children. These findings will be discussed later in the section on 'Effects on Participants.' The Abt study also looked into a number of questions concerning the structure and program content of Head Start. The study used ten measures, including four child-response measures, three child-rating scales for classroom teachers, a parent interview, a teacher questionnaire, a questionnaire for center personnel, and a questionnaire for Head Start Delegate Agencies.

45. The Abt study revealed that the distribution of Head Start projects by geographic region corresponds very closely with the distribution of the poverty-level population (see Table A-3). However, there are relatively fewer centers located in large cities and rural areas than might be expected on the basis of the poverty-level population in them (see Table A-4).

46. In terms of participant characteristics, the Abt study found that the percentage of black and Hispanic children participating in Head Start is twice as high as their representation in the poverty-level population. Sixty percent of children enrolled in Head Start were four years old, with the remainder evenly divided between the three-year-old and five-year-old groups. The median income of the Head Start families in this sample was $6,000 per year, and the mean family size was 5.5 members. Due to differences in counting income and benefits for purposes of participant eligibility and the income report by the sample survey, it was not possible to state specifically whether 90 percent of the participants met the poverty criteria; this study reports that about 70 percent of the participants did meet this criterion. The mean income of participant families and other family background characteristics would indicate that the program is very close to serving the intended population. This finding is similar to the GAO finding in 1975 that indicated that 75 percent of the participants met the low-income criterion.[4] Proposed regulations drafted in FY 1978 require that project staff verify family incomes prior to enrolling a child and specify the specific data and documents to be used in this process.

TABLE A-3. Distribution of Head Start Centers by Region, Total and Poverty Level Population (in percentages)

Totals	GEOGRAPHIC REGION			
	Northeast	Southeast	Southwest	West
Head Start Centers*	39.5	21.2	18.2	21.1
Total U.S. Population**	49.9	15.8	10.0	24.3
U.S. Poverty Population**	38.3	25.1	15.5	21.1

* Sample N = 1,550 centers
** 1970 U.S. Census data.

SOURCE: National Survey of Head Start Graduates and Their Peers, Abt Associates, Inc., March 1978.

TABLE A-4. A Distribution of Head Start Centers by City Size, Total U.S. and Poverty-Level Populations (in percentages)

Totals	CITY SIZE		
	Urban	Small Town	Rural
	More Than 50,000	10,000-50,000	Less Than 10,000
Head Start Centers*	44.1	22.3	33.6
Total U.S. Population**	35.9	19.3	44.8
U.S. Poverty Population**	47.5	8.9	43.6

* Sample N = 1,550 centers
** 1970 U.S. Census data.

SOURCE: National Survey of Head Start Graduates and Their Peers, Abt Associates, Inc., March 1978.

47. Most Head Start children in the Abt survey come from homes with two adults in the household, and most of those families indicated at least one adult was employed. About 27 percent of the children come from single-parent households, and in that group of families only 23 percent of the parents reported that they were employed. Slightly more than half of the mothers of Head Start children had completed high school.

48. The centers themselves serve an average of 41.7 children distributed in two or three classrooms each serving an average of 22 children. The survey shows a mean of 7.8 full-time and 6.5 part-time staff and 9.4 volunteers. The ethnic composition of staff shows relatively equal proportions of black and white. Due to methodological considerations, the proportion of Hispanic staff is probably under-represented in this study, and therefore conclusions concerning Hispanic staff are not drawn. While the majority of Head Start centers are operated under the auspices of community action agencies, the relationship between the centers and public schools is apparently quite strong. As Table A-5 indicates, the centers make significant use of public school resources and personnel.

TABLE A-5. Head Start Center Utilization of Public School Resources

Area of Contact or Use of Public School Resources	Percent of Head Start Centers
Buildings	58
Offices	25
Administrative Personnel	58
Teachers from School System	87
Curriculum Supervisors	49
School Program Coordinators	81
Other	45

SOURCE: National Survey of Head Start Graduates and Their Peers, Abt Associates, Inc., March 1978.

49. Program Content. In the Abt survey, centers were asked to rank seven program curriculum "orientations" to present a picture of the curriculum emphasis in each project. Almost always, the centers cited improvement of the child's self-esteem, self-confidence, and sense of efficacy as the first curricular priority, and this permeated the other curricular areas. Forty-one percent of the centers listed self-esteem as first and development of group and social skills as second. Academic skills development was rated as the first priority by only 4 percent of the sample.

50. The center directors and the parents involved in the survey were also asked to describe the services provided in the domains required in the Performance Standards: education, health and nutrition, social services, and parent participation. The data indicate that a very high degree of comprehensive services are provided to children and families through Head Start. Health, social, and community services are available in most communities surveyed, and the centers report extensive use of them. Educational enrichment experiences are varied and include creative experiences, social skill development, language development, dramatic play, problem solving, etc. Major emphases and patterns of enrichment activites vary, again, according to the availability of local resources. The major variations across all centers in the survey were in the frequency of science activities (daily vs. weekly) and in the importance center directors attached to math activities.

Effects on Participants

51. The evaluation findings related to the effects of the program on children and families can be viewed from two perspectives: the size and scope of immediate effects on children and families and the durability of those effects once the program experience has terminated. The most consistent results are found in the area of the immediate impact of the Head Start experience. Reanalysis of existing data banks, longitudinal evaluation designs, common data collection, pooling of data, and better coordination of disparate studies are some of the factors that offer hope that the durability of Head Start effects will be more adequately determined in the near future. The most relevant findings from national-level evaluations are briefly summarized below.

52. Immediate Effects on Children: National evaluation studies of Head Start, since the first study of the 1966 program, have focused on children's personal-social growth, readiness for school, achievement in school, and cognitive development. The most consistent use of measures and analysis occurred in a series of national evaluations beginning with evaluations of the 1966-69 programs (Dunteman, 1973; Coulson, 1972). These studies used the Preschool Inventory and the Stanford Binet to measure readiness for school, achievement in school, and cognitive development. These studies were followed by a series of three national evaluations using some of the same measures but also incorporating other measures such as the Peabody Picture Test. Abt's national evaluation completed in 1978 used the Wide Range Achievement Tests (WRAT) for school readiness and a battery of tests for judging social competence.

53. Reviewing this series of evaluation studies Lois-ellin Datta summarizes the findings of the earlier studies and reports that: "...the effects of Head Start in both regular and experimental programs included statistically reliable growth in pre-academic and cognitive skills, and...relative to the rate of growth project from maturational or status variables, the effects of Head Start (in terms of school readiness) gave a value added of doubling or tripling the gain over the eight months fall/spring period."[5]

54. Ms. Datta states further that "...improved performance on measures of reasoning ability is often reported as an immediate effect of Head Start. Post-program IQ scores tend to fall within the normal range. After entry into regular primary schools, Head Start graduates are more likely to keep pace with their class, less likely to be placed in special education programs or held back. Follow Through studies are confirming earlier data showing that Head Start graduates enter primary school close to or at national norms on readiness tests. This advantage is maintained during the first year of school."[6]

55. The summary of findings of the Abt study (1978) indicates that "...for black children, the evidence suggests that Head Start graduates are academically better prepared for school than they would have been without the program."[7] Problems with the comparison group prevented any conclusions about impact on white children.

56. In 1977, the Social Research Group of George Washington University, under contract to DHEW, produced a review of Head Start research since 1969. The principal researcher was Ada Jo Mann. This study incorporated the findings of a total of 59 research reports (dissertations, national evaluations, literature reviews) that dealt with Head Start's impact on the cognitive and social development of the child, the child's health, the family, and the community.

57. In discussing Head Start's impact on cognitive development, the 1977 study indicates that participation in full-year Head Start programs does have a positive effect on cognitive development. The majority of studies showed that participants' performance on standardized tests of intelligence or general ability improved; that Head Start children performed as well as or better than their peers when they began regular school and there were fewer grade retentions and special class placements. Significant gains have also been reported in Head Start's impact in preparing children for later reading achievement. The impact of participation in only the summer portion of Head Start did not include similar gains in cognitive development.

58. Lois-ellin Datta's study points out that measures used to determine the effect of Head Start on personal-social development of children have varied in the national evaluations. Therefore, aggregating data is an uncertain process. Ms. Datta, however, provides some summary impacts in this area. "...Head Start participants gain more than expected in academic achievement orientation, ability to inhibit motor impulses and in social adjustment during free play. They become more out-going, affectionate and task-oriented in testing situations."[8]

59. The findings on social competence from the Abt study indicate that "at entry to elementary school, teachers tend to rate Head Start graduates, both black and white, as more active, less inhibited, more gregarious, and more aggressive in both sociable and non-sociable ways. This pattern of behavior is interpreted in this report as indicative of children who have an eagerness and a readiness to learn."[9]

60. The survey of Head Start research conducted by Mann et al. reports that while positive impact on gains in self-concept were not supported, there were significant positive findings in several studies regarding Head Start's impact on participants in terms of the development of socially mature behavior and child socialization. Another question that this survey investigated was the effect of Head Start in increasing achievement motivation. Findings on this question are mixed. A large scale national study conducted by Research Triangle Institute in 1968-69 found gains in achievement motivation that were greater than expected at usual maturational rates, although a later study found less evidence of such gains.

61. Long Term Effects on Children: If one takes the view that the primary value of Head Start should be the durability of positive effects as the child progresses from Head Start through formal schooling, then the findings of evaluation studies are less clear. The immediate positive effects noted above are well established in the literature and tend to be maintained in the first year of school. Only a few studies have been completed that show positive effects for Head Start participants extending into the second and third grade. A serious problem hampering more precise statements about the durability of Head Start effects is the dearth of empirical data. The findings we do have on long term effects are too sporadic and tenuous to draw precise conclusions that the center-based, child/parent-focused, short term intervention is of lasting benefit to all participants. Some current studies promise to provide evidence about Head Start's long-term effects.

- Collaborative Studies. A national collaborative study of the persistence of preschool effects is currently being conducted, sponsored by the Education Commission of the States. The study involves the pooling of data and common analysis by twelve research groups. The study is a long term follow-up of participants in 14 Infant and Preschool Experiments that were initiated in the 1960s.[10] The ages of the children now range from 9-18 years of age. Using common follow-up data collected in 1976-77, the findings of the first phase of the study indicate the following long-term benefits:

  (1) Preschool experience reduced the number of program children assigned to special education classes;

  (2) Early education experience reduced the number of program children held back one or more grades;

  (3) Gains in cognitive development appear to be sustained at least through the primary grades.

  Also, parent interviews and self-rating by the children seem to indicate continued high parent satisfaction with the program and high self-image on the part of the children.

- Studying the Ecology of the Child. Another feature of the follow-up evaluations that seems relatively promising is the tendency to study the total environment within which the child operates upon leaving the program. Case studies in an Educational Testing Service (ETS) Longitudinal Study imply that positive long term changes that occur in the child's development might result more from the cumulative effects of multiple interactions of parent, teacher, community and home settings, school program, continued availability of health and social services, etc., during the critical years of the child's development.

62. Probably the most important finding is that for those case studies where the home provided emotional support and an intellectual environment and where the school provided similar emotional support and intellectual stimulation, the children continued to make significant gains.

63. Effects on Parents: The most recent assessment of the involvement of parents in Head Start (Abt, 1978) indicates that the program is accomplishing most of its objectives; there is a high level of reciprocal contact via home-school visits and parent volunteers in classrooms; the Head Start experience helped parents to know about the school program, the teacher, how children learn, and how to help the child with school work during the first year of formal schooling. Parents also reported a high endorsement of the local Head Start effort and indicated a willingness to enroll their younger children.

64. Effects on Employees and Community: It is perhaps obvious that Head Start has over the past 13 years played a major role in directing the attention of the nation to the importance of early childhood/preschool experience. The program has served as a model for many other child development programs; it has pioneered in delivery of health services to disadvantaged children; it has fostered the upward mobility of nonprofessional staff, and also highlighted the importance of parent involvement in early childhood development.

65. It is difficult to document the effects of Head Start on the community and on the staff and volunteers in each local center. Data on staff and volunteer career development and training are usually presented only in terms of number of participants and funds expended. There are many types of training available for those adults involved with the program. The principal vehicle is the Head Start Supplementary Training Program, which gives professional and nonprofessional employees the opportunity to study child development and related subjects at colleges and universities. This program involved approximately 10,000 Head Start staff members in 1978. Some of the courses lead to academic degrees or certification in the field of early childhood education. Approximately half of the 10,000 staff members cited above are receiving Child Development Associate training which will provide them with credentials to work as professionals in the child care field.

66. It has been a longstanding conviction of Head Start that the mechanism of parent and community involvement and change was essential to the ultimate success of the goals of the program. Institutional responsiveness to low-income families' needs was evaluated in 1968 through a Community Impact Study completed by Kirschner Associates, in 42 communities with Head Start programs and 6 communities without Head Start. The study identified 1,496 institutional changes in the Head Start communities that were consistent with program goals. Very little relevant change was noted in the non-Head Start communities.

Types of changes included modifications of health services for the disadvantaged; increased involvement of low income persons in local decision making; slightly greater employment of the disadvantaged in paraprofessional work, etc. The study found further that institutional changes were more substantial, innovative, frequent, and durable when Head Start, particularly parents, was significantly involved. Later studies substantiate these conclusions; however, no national studies of the community impact of Head Start have been initiated since 1970.

SUMMARY OF IMPACT

67. Evidence over the 13-year history of Head Start indicates that the program:

- Is reaching, to a great extent, the target population intended by Congress;
- Is delivering a comprehensive education, health, nutrition, and social service program, with strong emphasis on developing self-esteem and personal-social development (social competence);
- Is meeting most of its own standards for parental involvement in planning and operating projects, in increasing parents' knowledge and self-confidence in their approach to the child's development, and in fostering increased contact and cooperation between home and school;
- Is producing immediate effects on the school readiness, cognitive development, initial school achievement, and personal-social development of participating children;
- May produce durable, long-term effects on children, but more evidence is needed to substantiate fully the magnitude of success;
- Is expending a sizeable effort in career development and training of professional staff and volunteers in the local centers;
- Has had considerable impact on local institutional change geared to provide better, more efficient, and sensitive services to low-income families and their children, at least in its early years.

NOTES

[1] DHEW, Office of Child Development, Office of Human Development, Head Start Program Performance Standards, 1975, p.2.

[2] Generally, for most programs these are: The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, the Trust Territory of the Pacifice, and the Government of the Northern Marianna Islands.

[3] P.L. 93-644, Title V, Part A, Section 511 (1).

[4] The reader is reminded that once a child is accepted into a Head Start Program, the regulations allow that child to continue in the program despite changes in family income that might occur.

[5] Lois-ellin Datta, "Another Spring, Other Hopes," chapter in Siegler, E. and Valentine, J. Project Head Start. Free Press, New York, New York, 1979.

[6] Ibid, p. 3 and 4.

[7] Abt Associates, National Survey of Head Start Graduates and Their Peers, Cambridge, Mass., March 1978.

[8] Datta, op.cit.

[9] Abt Associates, op.cit. Executive Summary, p.3.

[10] Although few of these projects are actual Head Start projects the findings available now are suggestive of the findings we expect when similar studies of Head Start are initiated.

TITLE I: A CASE STUDY

CAPSULE DESCRIPTION

68. Title I is perhaps the single most important education program designed to equalize educational opportunity in the United States. Passed by the Congress in 1965, many social planners saw it as an "implement of change" for breaking the cycle of poverty. The compensatory education concept stems from the recognition that children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds are caught in a cycle of poverty which is associated with low achievement in school. Often these children attend schools in districts having low overall revenues or ones where there are high concentrations of disadvantaged families. In these low-income areas, the schools operate under financial constraints which not only adversely affect the general development of pupils, but which also prevent the funding of the extra services they need. Compensatory education programs such as ESEA, Title I embody a commitment to provide disadvantaged children with additional services so that they may obtain and complete their education on more equal terms.

69. Title I is a categorical program that offers financial assistance to State and local public education agencies to expand their educational programs to serve the special needs of several specific populations: educationally disadvantaged children in low-income areas; physically and/or mentally handicapped children in State operated programs; neglected and delinquent children in institutions or residing in foster homes; children of migratory workers; and American Indian children attending Bureau of Indian Affairs schools.[1]

70. The major focus of Title I is on the low-achieving children who reside in areas of concentration of low-income families. Eighty percent of the entire Title I appropriation is allocated to programs that are planned and administered by the local school district in such areas. This part of Title I provides almost one-third of the per pupil expenditure in some of the nation's poorest school districts. Consequently, this report will emphasize the LEA programs component of Title I, although some relevant data documenting the scope and purpose of the other component programs (migrant, Indians, etc.) will be included where appropriate.

PROGRAM GOALS

71. The overarching goal of Title I is to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children. This goal means many different things to different people. The legislation and other official government documents indicate three main purposes of Title I:

- To provide financial assistance to school districts serving large numbers of students from low-income families, and within those districts to the schools with the greatest number of such children;
- To fund special services for low-achieving students in such schools; and
- To contribute to the cognitive, social, and emotional growth of participating students.[2]

72. In the process of ensuring that these goals are achieved, several fundamental principles have emerged as critical. First, Title I funds are to supplement and not supplant existing State and local resources directed toward the education of these children.

73. Second, Title I is to involve parents in the planning of local Title I projects through the mechanism of representative parent advisory councils (PAC).

74. Third, Title I is to improve itself and keep the parents of participants informed of its progress through the collection of useful data called for under the detailed evaluation requirements of the original legislation.

75. In the American context, the relationship between public and nonpublic schools is regarded as embodying aspects of the constitutional principle of church/State separation. Yet, children needing the special benefits of Title I may attend nonpublic institutions. Services to nonpublic school children are planned and delivered through the public school authorities in consultation and coordination with the representatives of nonpulbic school children and parents. The implementing regulations establish the procedures through which public funds are used for the private school children, while maintaining the constitutional principle.

PROGRAM SCOPE

76. Title I is the largest single Federal education program and accounts for 34 percent of total Federal funding in elementary and secondary education. In recent years, the annual Title I appropriation has totaled more than $2 billion and will exceed $3 billion in FY 1980. The appropriation for Title I has increased dramatically since the program's inception in 1965; there has been a less dramatic but still significant increase in constant dollar amounts (Table 4.1). Among the smaller component programs, funding levels for the handicapped and for migrants have shown the largest percentage increases over time.

77. The program serves students in 14,000 of the 16,000 public school districts in all States, the District of Columbia, the territories and outlying areas. In 1978, the program served approximately 5.4 million children at a cost of $2.285 billion.

78. In 1979-80, in addition to supplemental services to be provided to students through the LEA grants program, services were to be provided to: about 70,000 children living in local institutions or classified as neglected or delinquent, and an estimated 48,000 children in State operated or supported institutions for neglected or delinquent children. During the school year 1979-80, approximately 31,000 Indian children will participate in projects in 240 Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools. An allocation of at least $17.6 million will support projects in almost 70 percent of the BIA schools. Approximately 600,000 children of migrant workers will benefit from Title I migrant services in 1979-80 at a cost of about $170 million.

79. In school year 1979-80, Title I funds for State agencies responsible for the free public education of handicapped children will support special educational services for approximately 247,000 children in the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands.

PROGRAM SERVICES

80. We have noted above that the primary goal of Title I is to provide supplementary services to low-achieving children. The range of services that is allowable under Title I is extremely broad, and although an extensive list of suggested services was included in the original legislative proposal, the Congress chose to place the responsibility for final selection of services and activities at the LEA level. Despite the fact that an LEA is receiving Federal funds, the Federal government is precluded by law from exercising any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution, school, or school system, or over the selection of library resources, textbooks, or other printed or published instructional materials by any educational institution or school system.

81. Historically, local Title I-funded programs have developed along lines leading to a tight focus on instruction in basic skills. This is a significant change from the earliest years of the program when, in many local projects, Title I funds were being used for purposes that had little or nothing to do with basic skills or with compensatory education itself. Although there are numerous services that these

local programs are free to employ, in general, Title I programs today provide supplementary instruction in reading, mathematics, and language arts. About 75 percent of Title I funds nationwide are spent on providing instructional services. The program tends to encourage individualized instruction, and there is a tendency to deliver these services in special classrooms that have additional resources and materials and highly trained personnel, i.e., children are "pulled out" of the regular classroom for limited periods of time during the school day for these special services.[3]

LEGAL FRAMEWORK

82. Title I is not a grant-in-aid program that provides general funding to States and local districts. Title I funds are specifically designated to be used for supplementary services for identified disadvantaged children in low-income areas. This section discusses the legal framework for targeting funds and implementing programs, including: (1) the mechanism for funding districts, (2) requirements on the allocation of children within districts, (3) additional funding for requirements, and (4) procedures for designing programs within schools.

THE FUNDING MECHANISM TO DISTRICTS

83. A formula grant program such as Title I involves a number of Congressional decisions on how funds should be disbursed. Factors in these decisions include: the appropriate population counted in the grant formula; the amount to be allocated per eligible child; other criteria affecting the size of the grant; and whether limitations should be placed on the use of grant money.

84. In establishing Title I, Congress decided that low-income children were the appropriate population to be counted; that the amount of money given to a State should be related to State costs of education; and that the funds should be used for special services for educationally disadvantaged children.

85. Determination of Eligible Children. There are several categories of children to be counted in determining the amount of a grant. For the sake of clarity, they were referred to earlier as school-aged children from low-income families. To be more precise, those eligible for counting include:

- Children aged 5 to 17, inclusive, from families below the Orshansky poverty level as counted in the Census.[4]

- Two-thirds of the children aged 5 to 17 from families receiving payments, under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), which total more than the current poverty level for a nonfarm family of four.

- Children aged 5 to 17 -- being supported with public funds -- who live in foster homes or in institutions for neglected or delinquent children and depend on LEAs for educational services.

86. Data required for the Orshansky formula are readily available for the entire nation only to the county level, and the Office of Education delegates to the States the responsibility for suballocating county grants to LEAs in cases where LEAs are not coterminous with counties. These subcounty allocations, which affect most LEAs, must be based on counts of low-income children, and States are required to use procedures and data approved by the Commissioner of Education.

87. The formula for allocation of basic grant funds remains basically unchanged after the Education Amendments of 1978, with three exceptions. First, one-half of the funds appropriated in excess of the 1979 appropriation for basic grants would be allocated according to the number of children in the State from families below 50 percent of the median national income according to the 1975 Survey of Income and Education (SIE) conducted by the Bureau of the Census. That amount would be allocated among local educational agencies (LEAs) in a State in proportion to the size of their basic Title I grants. Second, beginning in FY 1980, the basic formula will count 100 percent of the number of children from families receiving AFDC in excess of the poverty line, rather than only two-thirds of that number, as under current law. Third, because experience with the program has shown some gaps in the degree to which especially high concentrations of children from low-inocme families are effectively reached, the Congress included a new provision in the Education Amendments of 1978 to provide additional assistance to communities and schools affected by such concentrations.

88. Section 117 authorizes grants to counties in which the number of low-income children exceeds 5,000 or 20 percent of the total number of children in the school districts of that county. Generally, funds allocated to counties under this authority will be distributed to local educational agencies within each county in proportion to the number of low-income children in each such local educational agency. However, in

the case of local educational agencies with 20 percent or fewer children from low-income families, the number of children counted would be reduced in proportion to the amount by which that percentage is less than 20 percent. Funds paid to local educational agencies under this authority would be used to supplement their basic Title I programs. A total of $400,000,000 would be authorized for this program for FY 1979 and such sums as may be necessary for each of the four succeeding fiscal years.

89. Procedures for Allocating Funds Within School Districts. LEAs have considerable control over the Title I funds allotted to them. Although their use of money is governed by a number of Federal and State regulations, the LEAs decide which schools and pupils to select for Title I programs and how to distribute the Federally funded resources among these schools and pupils.

90. In selecting the recipients of Title I services, LEAs are expected to:

- identify eligible schools in the district by using a poverty criterion and rank those eligible schools in priority order;
- select target schools (that is, decide which of the eligible schools will, in fact, receive Title I services);
- distribute services among targeted schools;
- identify the categories of children to be served in target schools; and
- select from those eligible children in the target schools the students who will, in fact, be served.

91. The students selected for participation in Title I programs at the school level are not necessarily those counted in the formula used to allocate funds at the county level. Moreover, a definition of poverty other than that used to allocate funds to counties is permissible both in the sub-county allocation process and in the procedures by which districts identify and target eligible schools.

92. In addition, the 1978 Amendments enacted a new section of the bill authorizing a Title I program to serve all children in a school in which at least 75 percent of the children are from low-income families. However, in order to operate such a school-wide Title I project, an LEA would be required to develop a comprehensive plan to meet all the special

educational needs of all children in the school. Additional requirements, including appropriate consultation with parents, teachers, and secondary students, training requirements, evaluation requirements, and requirements relating to the minimum amount of resources available at the school, are imposed.

ADDITIONAL FUNDS ALLOCATION REQUIREMENTS

93. Of the funds allocation requirements, two -- eligibility and targeting -- are concerned with the selection of schools and students who are to benefit from Title I. These requirements are discussed later in this section under the heading "Funding Mechanism." The other requirements in this category are intended to ensure that Title I funds are used to provide special services for the intended beneficiaries. These requirements vary according to whether they apply on the district, school, or student level, and whether they refer to funds or to services. They are listed below.

94. General aid provisions direct school districts to serve only "educationally deprived" children with Title I funds and not the student body at large. The other requirements dealing with funds allocation provide more specific guidance to school districts.

95. Maintenance of effort provisions apply to district-level expenditures and require that funding from State and local sources does not decrease despite the additional funding. Without such provisions, States or districts could substitute Title I dollars for their own money and maintain the same level of overall educational expenditures. The requirement is designed to ensure that Federal assistance serves a supplemental rather than a basic education function and that Title I grantees not shift ongoing financial responsibility for basic education programs to the Federal government.

96. Comparability requirements apply at the school level to the services provided from State and local funds. Generally, they require that the level of these services in every Title I school be substantially comparable to the average level of State and locally funded services in non-Title I schools. They are designed to ensure that Federal assistance is not used to support a level of services that is already available in non-Title I schools in the district. Comparability is generally measured in terms of two ratios: pupil to staff and expenditures per pupil for instructional salaries.

97. Supplement not supplant requirements are intended to ensure that Title I funds are added to, and not used to replace State and local funds which would, in the absence of Title I funds, have been available. Children in Title I programs must receive the level of State and local funds they would have received if Title I did not exist.

98. The supplanting provisions of the statute and the regulations add significantly to the restrictions on local spending behavior contained in the maintenance of effort and comparability requirements. Maintenance of effort refers to district-level expenditures, while the comparability requirements relate to services provided at the school level. The supplanting provision, in contrast, requires that Title I funds be used to provide supplementary programs for individual, educationally disadvantaged children.

99. The excess cost requirement clarifies the supplanting provisions by stipulating that Title I funds can pay only for the excess costs of Title I programs and projects. If, for example, a district is spending on the average $1,000 per pupil for the regular academic program, and the local Title I program is designed to provide the same program at a more intensive level, Title I may pay only for the costs of the program that exceed costs of $1,000 per pupil. The supplement not supplant and excess cost provisions are thus closely related. The supplanting provisions prevent LEAs from penalizing children in Title I programs when allocating State and local funds. The excess cost provision requires that Title I funds pay only the costs of services beyond normal instructional expenditures.

100. Equitably provided provisions, formerly termed "ordinarily provided," extend the comparability concept from the school to the child level and use a different measure of services. The comparability requirements are met if broad tests, such as the ratio of pupils to staff in each Title I school, are roughly equal to the average pupil/staff ratio in all non-Title I schools. The equitably provided regulations require that Title I children in Title I schools receive their fair share of specific services in comparison to children in non-Title I schools. These regulations are particularly useful when districts are introducing a new, locally provided service to some but not all children. For example, if a district implemented a limited new program to teach English as a second language, the equitably provided rule requires that Title I children be involved in the new program in relation to their proportion of the total number of children in the district.

101. As a whole, these funds allocation regulations give force to the statement in the Declaration of Policy (of the statute) that Title I funds be used to "expand and improve" programs by meeting the "special" needs of educationally deprived children in low-income areas. In order to accomplish this goal, they impose strict requirements on districts.

PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT REQUIREMENTS

102. Local decisionmaking about the services to be delivered to Title I participants is not totally autonomous. The Congress established various measures in the original legislation to allow State and Federal authorities to maintain standards of quality control. There are six major requirements to which LEAs must adhere in designing and implementing Title I programs; the purpose of these requirements is to insure that services are related to the needs of the children to be served and that they are carefully planned, implemented, and evaluated.

- The needs assessment requirement is the first step in the program development process and involves identifying educationally disadvantaged children and specifying their neeeds. This requirement is intended to ensure that all educationally disadvantaged children residing in low-income areas are identified.

- The program design requirement calls for a formal plan establishing objectives for the Title I program and the specification of activities and services to accomplish the desired ends, based on the results of the needs assessment.

- The size, scope, and quality requirement is intended to ensure that Title I funds provide services of sufficient size, scope, and quality to give reasonable promise of success. The requirement takes on added importance since Title I typically is not fully funded.

- The coordination requirement is intended to prevent Title I from duplicating benefits provided to the target population by ensuring that Title I services are planned in conjunction with other Federal and State agency programs.

- The program evaluation requirement provides that the effectiveness of the Title I program in meeting the educational needs of children be assessed. The results of these assessments should be used by LEAs in the design of future Title I programs and must be reported to the SEA.

- The parent involvement requirement prescribes the nature and extent of parental involvement in the development and operation of Title I programs. This issue merits special attention because parent involvement has long been considered a necessary component of a successful Title I program.

103. In general, the program development requirements incorporate elements of school educational planning by explicitly requiring formal program design, discouraging the expenditure of small amounts of money on each pupil, and requiring local program evaluation.

ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL LEVELS

104. Title I, more than any other program discussed in this review, utilizes the full range of the three-tiered intergovernmental process, with specific roles and relationships outlined in the law. [5]

105. The preceding discussion focused on the formal legal requirements LEAs must meet to receive benefits under Title I. The mechanism used to distribute funds was also outlined briefly. Set forth below is a discussion of the specific roles and responsibilities that each governmental level performs in the process of designing, implementing, operating, and evaluating a Title I program.

106. The current balance of Federal and State roles and responsibilities has developed over a number of years as the legal framework has been refined. The basic framework has been intact since 1965 when the Title I legislation was initially passed. However, the Education Amendments of 1978 contain a number of provisions that have significant bearing on the future roles and responsibilities of the Federal, State, and local levels in the area of compliance with and enforcement of Title I requirements. The provisions aim at ensuring clear understanding of Title I's requirements at all three governmental levels and are to be accomplished through written procedures that specify what each level of administration is expected to do. The provisions also expand the role of SEAs in the areas of monitoring local projects and in ensuring compliance. The various changes deal with complaint resolution, audits and audit resolution, procedures for enforcement and monitoring; they are included where appropriate in the following discussion of Federal, State and local responsibilities.

107. Administrative Responsibilities Within USOE. The Title I program operates on an annual basis and is advance funded.[6] In practice, this has meant in the past that local districts had to submit applications for review to the States each year. The recent amendments revised the annual application requirement, LEAs will, in the future, be required to submit an application only once every three years as long as that application describes the current LEA program. The States verify and certify the applications before applying to USOE which has final approval authority.

108. Within USOE the responsibility for funds disbursement to the county level and for the day-to-day management of Title I resides with the Division of Education for the Disadvantaged (DED). This office has primary responsibility for drafting regulations and other program documents, although staff offices within USOE as well as DHEW play an important role in the process of writing regulations. DED also provides technical assistance to SEAs and LEAs through its Program Support Branch and collects information from the States as part of the mandated evaluation component of Title I. These projects and SEA evaluative reports provide useful fiscal, program-scope, and results information about the Title I programs at the local level and within each State. In addition to DED evaluation activities, the USOE Office of Evaluation and Dissemination (OED) (formerly Planning, Budget, and Evaluation (OPBE)) also assesses the national impact of the program.

109. Evaluation efforts are complemented by the policy of disseminating information about exemplary programs. Some of this responsibility exists informally in DED; however, a component unit of OED, the National Diffusion Network, also plays an important role in dissemination by providing local districts with information on Title I and other compensatory programs that have demonstrated effectiveness in other local settings.

110. In addition to these responsibilities, the Federal government interacts with States and local districts through Federal monitoring and enforcement activities. Both the DED and DHEW Audit Agency staff visit States and districts to verify that local programs are being administered as intended and that States are performing their administrative responsibilities. The recent amendments to ESEA include requirements that the Commissioner adopt procedures to assure the timely and appropriate resolution of audit findings.

111. Federal authorities are also involved in resolving complaints concerning violations of the law governing Title I. In 1978 this aspect of compliance activity has been strengthened through a requirement that the Commissioner develop and implement written procedures for receiving and resolving

appeals from final determinations of SEAs respecting complaint resolution; for receiving such complaints directly from PACs, parents, teachers, or other concerned organizations or individuals; and for conducting independent onsite investigations of complaints if the Commissioner deems necessary.

112. In cases where a State is found to be out of compliance with a legal provision, USOE exercises its enforcement function and can penalize a State or district(s) by withholding, or in some cases reducing, or terminating, further payments of Title I funds until the deficiency has been corrected. The Commissioner may, however, suspend the initiation or continuation of withholding action by entering into a Compliance Agreement with the affected SEA. The provisions governing Compliance Agreements are specified in the recent amendments to Title I.

113. Additional new provisions enacted in the 1978 amendments require the Federal level to prepare and distribute a Title I policy manual and to submit a biennial report to the Congress concerning the enforcement of Title I.

114. State Responsibilities. States play an important role in the administration of Title I. They can add regulatory provisions governing the implementation of the program that are not inconsistent with the Federal legal framework. They exercise approval authority over LEA program applications. They are responsible for direct oversight of local activities through State monitoring and enforcement efforts. States are also required to provide LEAs with technical assistance and to disseminate information useful in improving the quality of the Title I program.

115. The Education Amendments of 1978 require each State to submit to the Commissioner, at least once every three years, a monitoring and enforcement plan which includes a schedule of visits to local educational agencies, procedures for monitoring compliance by local educational agencies with Title I requirements, procedures for regular audits by the State, procedures for complaint resolution, and a description of the means by which the State will ensure compliance with requirements relating to services to children in private schools.

116. In the smaller component programs of Title I, States have a variety of management roles according to the purposes of each program. Grants for physically and mentally handicapped children and for neglected and delinquent children in State-operated programs are administered directly by those State authorities that operate such programs. Local authorities submit proposals to such a State agency, and that agency submits a combined application to the SEA. The SEA has final approval authority for a State program. In the migrant program, SEAs may apply to USOE themselves or LEAs apply to the SEA to operate local projects and the SEA then applies to the USOE, which gives final approval for a State program. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) acts as an SEA in approving grants for BIA-controlled schools for Indian children.

117. Local Responsibilities. The requirements of LEAs have been noted above; however, it is useful to repeat those functions in the context of the Federal/State/local balance of roles and responsibilities. LEAs are responsible for identifying the local schools that will be the locus of services, to identify the children to be served, and to design projects to meet the needs of the children. In addition, LEAs maintain parent involvement in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of a local project. Local public school authorities are also accountable for providing equitable services to eligible children who attend nonpublic schools and for involving parents and representatives of nonpublic school children in the entire process. The LEA submits an annual report on its Title I program to the SEA. The recent amendments to Title I require that each LEA develop and implement written procedures for the resolution of complaints.

PROGRAM RESULTS

118. Title I has had an evaluation requirement since the inception of the program. Presently, the evaluation procedures are implemented by bringing together two different but mutually dependent strategies. The first strategy involves assessing data which have been collected from the State education agencies. Such data are both recent and broad based since all States and almost all districts up to now have reported on an annual basis. There are several provisions in the Education Amendments of 1978 that will affect the annual evaluation requirement at all levels --Federal, State, and local. Detailed requirements are currently under discussion. Because there are problems with quality control in this far-reaching evaluation strategy, it is complemented by Federally sponsored national impact studies.

119. From 1967 to 1976, there were 15 major Title I evaluations. These studies have been managed by various component units of USOE (such as OED, BESE, DED), by the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, and by the General Accounting Office. In addition to these 15 studies, the Congress mandated the NIE compensatory education study in 1974 as part of the reauthorization process for 1978 and allocated $15 million to finance the work. Also, the OED is conducting a longitudinal study, The Sustaining Effects Study, for which approximately $9 million has been allocated.

120. This section traces the history of early Title I evaluation in order to detail the scope of interest in the program and to elaborate differing evaluation strategies that have been used. Subsequent to the historical tracing, we will examine some of the findings of the recent three-year study of compensatory education programs conducted by the National Institute of Education. The final concern of this section is the effects of services on participants as seen in the findings of such recent studies as NIE's Instructional Dimensions Study, the Stanford Research Institute study of State reports, and the ETS Compensatory Reading Study. The results of these recent evaluation efforts provide encouraging evidence that Title I programs are improving children's academic performance.

Title I Evaluations, 1965-1970

121. In general, early studies of the impact of Title I produced discouraging results. This brief summary describes the major studies and notes some of the methodological problems associated with them.[6] The first major study of Title I was called the TEMPO study. The research examined student achievement in 14 districts nominated by the National Advisory Council on the Education of Disadvantaged Children. Comparisons were made between student scores in the school years 1965-66 and 1966-67. The project design did not verify whether or not individual students received compensatory services; instead, TEMPO sought to determine if the class mean would change. Analysis of the TEMPO data suggested that the "achievement gains from Title I were not likely to be so great as to stand out in comparison with the many sources of random error and systematic bias that occur in evaluation."[7]

122. In 1967-68, the Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE) contracted with the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) to conduct a national survey of Title I. This survey described the range of Title I services, the characteristics of the participants, and the pattern of funding. It did not include quantitative measurement of effects on participants. A 1968-69 survey (Glass) followed a similar research design and also attempted to comply with the 1966 ESEA amendment requiring a national evaluation of Title I. This study concluded that the compensatory reading programs were reaching students who needed special assistance, but that their rate of improvement was slower than nonparticipants. However, the study compared students who were receiving compensatory instruction with those who had no need of it.

123. Following these largely discouraging national surveys, the OED (then OPBE) contracted with the American Institutes for Research (AIR) to identify, analyze, select, and describe successful compensatory education programs. Individual projects were described, and the authors attempted to carry out a cost-benefit analysis. Careful planning, clearly stated objectives, instruction relevant to objectives, forms of individualization, intensity of treatment, and parental involvement were found to be among the factors leading to the success of the programs.

124. In 1968, the Federal government began a cooperative effort in information gathering called the Belmont program. One instrument used in this effort, the Consolidated Program Information Report, was designed to provide overall management data to estimate local agency participation, expenditures, and staffing in selected Federal programs, including Title I. Belmont did not provide, however, the kind of policy-relevant evaluation information necessary for management decisions. Between 1968-72, there were no additional Belmont reports sent to Congress after the transmission of the initial survey report in 1968. The 1970 Belmont survey data were analyzed but no report was written.

125. In response to the inadequacy of Belmont, Federal analysts and managers began urging changes in evaluation strategies. There was a growing interest in impact evaluation, particularly in OE's Office of Program Planning and Evaluation. By 1972, the full shift in focus toward evaluation of effects on participants was felt.

126. The American Institutes for Research (AIR) reanalyzed and synthesized evaluation data from FY 1965 through 1970. Authors Wargo and Tallmadge noted that sufficient funds had not been allocated for ancillary services. Also, some of the funds were not directed at compensatory students. In the area of effects upon achievement of participants, the AIR study seems to conclude that "there was little evidence at the national level that the program had had any positive impact on eligible and participating children."[8] Evidence of success was, however, clearer as one looked at local data.

127. This entire early phase of Title I evaluation was beset with many questions regarding what should be measured in Title I, and what methodological approaches should be used. Largely because of debate over methodology, the first few years of Title I evaluation did not provide an unambiguously positive or negative picture of the program's effectiveness either in terms of the process (Was the program serving intended beneficiaries? Was it cost effective? etc.), or in terms of measuring student achievement. Under these circumstances, many researchers and policymakers had concluded by the early 1970s that the program had not lived up to the expectations of the apparently overly optimistic 1960s.

Recent Studies: Effectiveness of the Process

128. Since Title I has three interrelated by independent goals, a meaningful evaluation of the overall effectiveness of this Federal program must consider its success in meeting each of these objectives. In this section, we will address two of these goals: first, distribution of funds to low-income areas; second, control of the kinds of educational and ancillary services these funds pay for. A related concern also discussed there is the working of the intergovernmental management system.

129. Much of the data for this discussion of the Title I process has been summarized or taken from the NIE Compensatory Education Study, mandated by the Congress in 1974 for its use in considering the reauthorization of ESEA. NIE prepared six separate reports. Funds allocation, services, and administration are covered in great detail below.

130. In a later part of this chapter, we will trace the results of recent evaluations of the effect of compensatory services on pupil achievement.

131. Allocation of Funds. Title I has been successful in distributing funds to areas in which there are concentrations of children from low-income families, thus meeting the first of the goals established by the Congress. Generally, Title I money is directed to places with large proprtions of poor children, such as certain central cities and rural areas. Overall, the larger the number of poor children living in a district, the larger its allocation. The effects of this pattern on a regional basis are such that the share of Title I funds going to counties in the South and in the Middle Atlantic States is larger than these counties' share of the overall school-age population.

132. The amount of money a district receives also reflects its State's average per pupil expenditure. By weighting the formula in this way, allocations reflect cost differentials among the States. Thus, counties in urban areas and in the Northeastern region receive the most money for each child counted in the formula since State per pupil expenditures are greater in these areas. The rural counties and those in the South receive the least per child because their per pupil expenditures are lower. This situation has the effect of providing less money for each formula-eligible child in the poorest counties in the nation. Although LEAs have the flexibility to concentrate funds on the schools most heavily impacted by poverty, NIE data indicates that Title I is not necessarily focused in this way. Title I tends to serve the great proportion of all eligible schools. In fact, 94 percent of eligible schools (K to grade 8) are targeted for services.

133. Additionally, OED data indicate that a significant number of schools with a relatively low incidence of poverty received Title I funds. This is not to say that Title I funds are not focused in areas with high concentrations of poverty; in fact, 90 percent of the schools with half their children coming from poverty-level families receive Title I funds. However, Title I does not exclusively serve the schools with the highest concentrations, as seen below:

TABLE A-7. Receipt of Title I Funds

Percent of Students from Poverty Families	Percent of Schools that Receive Title I Funds
Less than 20 percent..................	53 percent
20 to 50 percent......................	79 percent
More than 50 percent..................	90 percent

SOURCE: Elementary Schools and the Receipt of Compensatory Funds, Executive Summary, OPBE, DHEW, August 1977.

134. Title I Effects on Spending. NIE found that Title I is superior to other Federal or State funding programs in terms of its capacity to increase educational spending at the local level, rather than being used to replace local expenditures. A higher proportion of Title I dollars represents net additions to district expenditures than is the case with other Federal or State education aid.

135. Redistribution Effects of Title I. Table A-8 compares Title I and other programs according to the extent to which they direct money to areas with large numbers of low-income families. To examine the average redistributive impact of different programs, NIE grouped districts by quartiles; that is, the 25 percent of districts with the highest percentage of children in poverty in 1970 were grouped together as the highest quartile, then the next 25 percent, and so on. Table A-8 examines the level of aid received by districts in all four quartiles for the entire United States.

TABLE A-8. Title I, Other Federal Revenue, and State Aid to Districts Ranked by Poverty

% of Children in Poverty (1970)	Average Title I Per ADM* 1974-1975	Other Federal Aid 1974-1975	Average State Aid Per ADM 1974-1975
Highest quartile	$ 57.38	$ 138.49	$ 537.99
Third quartile	42.92	112.33	583.08
Second quartile	19.03	65.02	575.15
Lowest quartile	10.34	37.83	513.87
Ratio of highest to lowest quartile	5.55	3.66	1.05

* Pupils in average daily membership

SOURCE: NIE Report, Title I Funds Allocation, p. 93.

136. Title I allocated more than five-and-one-half times as much aid per pupil to the districts with the highest poverty rates as it did to the lowest. The ratio for other Federal programs is three-and-one-half to one. Thus, Federal aid is generally redistributive, but Title I is distinctly more so than other Federal programs. Because the total funds considered in the columns labled "Other Federal Aid" and "State Aid" far exceed Title I funding, the absolute figures in those two columns are nonetheless larger than for Title I at every district quartile. By contrast, State aid programs are generally not redistributive. Although districts with the highest poverty rates receive about 5 percent more per pupil than those with the lowest, districts in the middle quartiles on average receive the most State aid.

137. Equalizing Effect of Title I. Although the program is markedly redistributive, i.e., directs funds to low-income areas, it is not as effective in compensating for unequal State and local expenditures per pupils. A funds allocation formula based on counts of low-income children is likely to have some equalizing effect. Many districts with a substantial number of low-income children are also spending relatively little on education, and vice versa.

138. The fact that an analysis of national Title I funding patterns does not reveal a major equalizing effect is not surprising. The "cost factor" in the Title I funding formula increases the funding that goes to high-expenditure States; thus, school districts will tend to receive higher Title I allocations the higher the levels of their State and local expenditures.

139. If, however, Title I funding patterns are examined within individual States, NIE found that the counter-equalizing effects of the cost factor are eliminated. Within States, Title I is considerably more equalizing than other sources of Federal aid.

140. Services. Funds allocated by the Federal government under Title I are intended to pay for special, supplementary educational services. Districts have great latitude in defining the range of services. Currently, Title I programs focus on providing instruction in basic skills areas, specifically in literacy and mathematics. Both school personnel and Federal officials believe that this strong emphasis on basic skills is appropriate.

141. The research completed by NIE showed that three-fourths of the funds received by the districts are used for instruction services. These services provide educational benefits for 20 percent of the nation's elementary school children, or about 6 million students. The districts use about 5 percent of their allocation to provide such ancillary services as food, medical care, and psychological counseling. The funds for parent advisory councils constitute a part of the ancillary services budget, and this amount is growing. The remaining 20 percent of the Title I budget is used to pay for employee benefits, administration, plant and maintenance, and related costs.

142. The education services provided with Title I funds are designed in ways that encourage the academic achievement of children. Title I students usually spend more time in basic skills instruction than children who are not in compensatory programs. On average, they spend 5.5 hours per week in special instruction. Their small classes average 9 students in reading and 12 in mathematics and language arts; in comparison, regular classes have 27 students.

143. In general, compensatory education instruction is given by highly qualified teachers. The NIE research found that over 95 percent of the compensatory education teachers have more than a Bachelor's degree and that the typical compensatory education teacher has a Master's degree. School systems apparently select teachers for these programs on the basis of special academic preparation. Once in the classroom, these teachers design programs using individualized instruction techniques, although few school districts offer instruction which has been individualized in all respects.

144. Recent studies funded by OPBE found that among schools receiving Title I funds, the services were moderately well focused on individual children who could be judged needy, primarily in terms of low achievement and also in terms of their low-income background.[9] Thus, while the extent and focus of compensatory education programs is encouraging, problems remain. The quality and intensity of Title I services are not uniform across districts. In some districts, there is little evidence of clear planning or specific instructional goals.

145. Further, many eligible children throughout the United States remain unserved: About 66 percent of those children actually identified as eligible for compensatory services and located in eligible schools actually receive services (K-grade 8). Recent studies indicate that the typical Title I student ranks at the 20th percentile in reading.[10] Students who performance is just below average usually are not included in Title I programs; furthermore, children whose performance approaches specified levels must sometimes leave the program so that more needy children can receive services.

146. Administration. To a large extent, the success of Title I in the classroom depends upon the effective management of the program. While the Federal government exercises leadership and direction in carrying out the program, the principal responsibility for ensuring that Congressional intentions are met resides with the States and the LEAs. NIE researchers have concluded that Title I administration is probably better now than it has been at any time since the program was enacted in 1965. Since the redrafting of regulations in 1971, States and districts have clearer guidance on the use of funds. While early evaluations pointed out that Title I children did not receive supplemental services in a consistent fashion, today these children are receiving a special program which represents a real addition to their education.

Furthermore, the funds allocation requirements[11] assist districts in resisting pressure to use Title I funds for other general educational needs or for tax relief.

147. While the Federal legal framework is basically sound and consistent within itself, NIE found that the clarity with which the framework is presented to State and local personnel could be improved. A consequence of this lack of clarity is that State administration varies considerably across the nation. States differ not only in the ways they communicate information to the districts, but also in the ways they provide technical assistance and monitor and enforce compliance.

148. NIE has explored some of the reasons for differing management practices. State and local agencies have final control over the disposition of Title I monies, although the Congress expects USOE to ensure that these monies clearly serve the eligible population. Yet the States have varying amounts of resources to manage these programs. In the past, about 1 percent of the Title I funds for a State were set aside for administrative purposes. This relatively low set-aside may lead to a less consistent administration in those States with large numbers of LEAs. NIE found that when funds are used for increasing Title I program staff, State management is likely to be strengthened.

RECENT STUDIES: EFFECTS ON ACHIEVEMENT

149. Throughout the history of the Title I program, many educators and parents have asked: Is the program improving the students' academic performance? In an attempt to answer this question, research and evaluation organizations have intensively studied the effects of Title I services on student achievement. Many of the early studies did not unambiguously suggest improvement in student performance, and early evaluations of the program were somewhat discouraging.

150. These discouraging evaluations might be explained by the research designs themselves. In some instances, data were gathered both about students who did and who did not receive compensatory instruction. Often these data were aggregated so that the precise impact of compensatory instruction was difficult to determine. For example, the TEMPO study used average classroom achievement rather than indicators from students who participated in Title I

programs. Since programs varied in their effectiveness, this evaluation strategy tended to understate benefits a well planned Title I program could offer compensatory students.

151. In 1971 the Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation (now OED) undertook a thorough examination of compensatory reading programs. The Compensatory Reading Study (CRS) was designed to describe compensatory reading practices in grades 2, 4, and 6 and to relate these practices to the acquisition of skills and to program costs. The study also described especially successful programs. In his summary of the research, Dr. George Mayeske notes that compensatory students tend not to fall further behind non-compensatory students during the school year. With regard to the national norm student (the 50th percentile student), both compensatory and non-compensatory students improved through the school year, although the non-compensatory student showed somewhat greater percentile increases than the compensatory students.[12] Overall, the CRS suggested that reading scores of students in compensatory education do in fact rise over the course of the school year.

152. The positive findings of the Compensatory Reading Study generally agree with findings from the NIE Instructional Dimension Study (IDS). The IDS differed from previous national evaluations because it focused on stable Title I programs. Although the study was not a random sample, its classroom survey included a range of income levels and ethnic groups. The study also included classroom surveys in urban, rural, and metropolitan areas in both the North and the South. NIE sought to develop a research strategy that would provide detailed information on the relationship between selected program characteristics and student performance in reading and mathematics.

153. Since NIE was interested in examining the relative effectiveness of different instructional techniques, the IDS focused on several issues: individualized techniques, the amount of time students spent in instruction, and whether students were taught in their regular classrooms or in a "pullout" setting. The programs studied were chosen to provide a sample which varied considerably in all these respects, so that the results of different approaches could be compared.

154. The preliminary results of the study showed no very dramatic differences between instructional methods, although they indicated that first graders did better when taught in their own classrooms, and confirmed the importance of time spent in instruction and on specific learning tasks. At the same time, results showed that the children made significant achievement gains overall. For example, first graders in the sample made average gains of 12 months in reading and 11 months in mathematics during the seven-month period between fall and spring testing, a gain equivalent to a 12-point and 15-point rise in their percentile scores. Third graders gained 8 months in reading and 12 in mathematics, a percentile gain in 7 and 15 points. These gains are considerably greater than those found in previous evaluations. As we have noted, earlier evaluations suggested that students gained at the rate of one month per month of instruction. Thus, students in IDS classrooms tended to gain at a significantly faster rate.

155. These results, however, do not suggest that Title I instruction is effective in all schools and in all districts. Rather, these results suggest that compensatory instruction can meet with significant success when programs are stable and well planned.

156. In addition to these encouraging results from the IDS research, the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) has collected and analyzed 283 State-level reports on Title I produced during the years 1969-74. By examining pre-test and post-test data over the school year, the students' average monthly gains were calculated. SRI reports that there was an average gain of 1.1 month for each month of instruction. This analysis also agrees with other findings about the short range effectiveness of Title I instruction.

157. The issue of long term effectiveness of Title I programs has been the focus of continued research. The SRI compensatory research study found that compensatory students tend to rank at about the same percentile in the fall of grades 2, 4, and 6. In other words, compensatory students tend to remain at the same place relative to their peers. Because the SRI research was not longitudinal, this finding may reflect the tendency of school districts to serve students falling far below a certain percentile. In other words, since the data were cross-sectional, the finding indicates more about the selection of eligible participants than it does about the progress of compensatory students through the early elementary years.

158. Another indicator of the long term effects of compensatory instruction is the rate at which learning is sustained during the summer months. Various researchers have noted a "summer drop" phenomenon, which was interpreted as evidence that compensatory students lost knowledge gained during the school year. Recent reanalyses of this phenomenon conducted by NIE suggest that if a loss occurs it should be characterized as a relative one. A relative loss means that compensatory students do not continue learning during the summer months in the same ways that other students learn. NIE researchers Hammond and Fretchling argue that viewing the phenomenon as "a no-summer gain" model is a better reflection of what actually happens to compensatory students than a "forgetting" model.[13] The forgetting model assumes that compensatory students actually know less in the fall than they did in the summer. If this were true, then yearly gains would be offset by summer losses. In addition, the NIE analysis indicates the IDS students maintained or slightly improved their test scores between the end of the school year and the beginning of the fall semester. Preliminary data from the OPBE longitudinal study described below seem to agree with NIE's findings.

ONGOING STUDIES

159. A Study of the Sustaining Effects of Compensatory Education on Basic Skills. This study has two major purposes: (1) to obtain information on the numbers of economically and educationally disadvantaged students who do and do not receive compensatory services; (2) to report on the benefits students derive from such services in terms of their cognitive skills during more than once academic year and to isolate those sequences of services that were most beneficial.

160. A Study of Parental Imvolvement in Four Federal Education Programs (ESEA, Title I; ESAA; Bilingual; and Follow Through). This study will examine both formal and informal modes of parent involvement in general school activities and as they relate to their own children. It will describe the ways in which Parent Advisory Councils (PACs) are formed and utilized, how much they cost, and what impact they have on various aspects of the projects as well as on parents of students participating in the project or attending the project school. It will also examine the ways in which multiple PACs are handled at schools that have projects funded by two or more of the programs. Model approaches to effective parent involvement will also be identified.

NOTES

[1] The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in the Department of the Interior is authorized by the Snyder Act of November 2, 1921, (Public Law 67-85; 25 U.S.C. 13.) to provide educational opportunities for eligible Indian children who do not have public education opportunities to meet their needs. The program serves primarily those Indian children residing on Indian reservations whre there are no appropriate school facilities available to them. Where necessary boarding facilities are also provided. Applicants may enroll from kindergarten through postsecondary grades. The estimated expenditure for this activity in FY 1979 was $191.9 million and about 51,000 Indian children and youth were served. In addition to the Federal schools, educational assistance is also provided to Indian children through the Johnson-O'Malley Program, which provides funds to public schools erving Indian children, and through programs of assistance for dormitory operation for Indian children, financial aid to encourage Indian students to continue education beyond high school, and to Indian school boards to operate schools.

[2] While the smaller component programs may have general goals similar to those fund in the LEA grant program the purposes of the component programs are more specifically tied to the special needs of these populations. For example, the Migrant program is designed to compensate for the interrupted and ineffective schooling ordinarily received by migrant children by providing more continuity of instruction as the children move with their families following various harvest seasons and other types of employment. Programs for children in State-operated institutions for neglected and delinquent children and programs for youthful offenders placed in adult institutions address the educational needs of these populations by helping to adjust the structure and emphases of the existing educational program within a given facility to the specific needs of children placed in that institution.

[3] The practice of pull-outs is becoming a matter of increasing concern with regard to Title I. The legal framework does not require that compensatory education students be given services in a setting separate from the regular classroom; however, the impact of fiscal controls and other accountability measures have inadvertently encouraged the practice. It is feared that such a technique could lead to a form of segregation of educationally disadvantaged children

which could have a number of negative side effects on Title I children. The IDS study conducted by NIE has found that when achievement gains of compensatory education students were examined according to the setting in which they received compensatory instruction, pullout or mainstream, the findings favored the mainstream setting in three out of four cases, with no difference in the fourth case. (Final Report, Compensatory Education Study, p. 7).

[4] The Federal poverty definition, named for its developer Mollie Orshansky, sets poverty-level incomes by estimating the costs of adequate diets for different sizes and types of families and the typical costs of other goods and services relative to food expenditures. It includes 124 different poverty lines and was incorporated into the Title I formula in 1974.

[5] This discussion is drawn largely from a working memorandum, Major Changes in Title I Regulations, June 1977, drafted by R. Silverstein as part of a National Institute of Education contract.

[6] This discussion is drawn largely from two sources: McLaughlin, M., Evaluation and Reform; The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title I. Ballinger Publishing Co., Cmabridge, Mass., 1975; and Rossi, R., McLaughlin, D., Campbell, E. and Everett, B., Summaries of Major Title I Evaluations, 1966-1976, American Institutes for Research contract study, Palo Alto, Calif., 1977. (3 volumes)

[7] Ibid, Rossi, et al., p. 12.

[8] Ibid, p. 19

[9] Hoepfner, R., Wellisch, J., and Zagorski, H., Report #1: The Sample for Sustaining Effects Study and Projections of Its Characteristics to the National Population, System Development Corporation, Santa Monica, Calif., March 1977.

[10] Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Evaluation, A Study of Compensatory Reading Programs: Technical Summary. USOE, Washington, D.C., 1976.

[11] Cf. p. 96

[12] Mayeske, OPBE Technical Summary, A Study of Compensatory Reading Programs.

[13] For more extensive discussion of these findings see National Institute of Education, Compensatory Education Study: Final Report, NIE, Washington, D.C., September 1978, pp. 79-90.

TEACHER CORPS--A CASE STUDY

PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

161. Until 1974, the Teacher Corps mission has focused on recruiting and training new entrants into the field of teaching. Although intended as a demonstration effort, the pursuit of this mission had been largely service-oriented for many projects. The 1974 amendments broadened the mission of the program significantly. Two new provisions--retraining of experienced teachers to work with the disadvantaged, and strengthened emphasis on demonstration of new practices and programs involving the entire faculty of a school--were written into the Teacher Corps authority. The 1976 Amendments broadened the mission even further and extended the project duration to five years.

162. Over the 13-year history of the program, the budget for Teacher Corps expanded from an initial $9.5 million in 1966, to $37 million in FY 1973. It remained at that level through FY 1979. FY 80 funding was reduced to $30 million.

163. Teacher Corps makes grants, for up to five years, to both a local educational agency and an institution of higher education (IHE) to mount a collaboratively managed project. The State Education Agency may also be a joint grantee. Each project is governed by a Policy Board that includes representation from the superintendent of the LEA, the dean of the IHE, and the chairman of a Community Council. The Community Council is elected by and represents parents of children attending the project schools and other residents of the area being served. Grants may also be made to correctional facilities to operate projects, again in conjunction with the LEA and an IHE. This parent council represents the parents of the students in the corrections institution, which usually has a statewide clientele.

PROGRAM GOALS

164. The Teacher Corps program generally may be described in three phases. Phase I, 1965-1973, focused on training new teachers for service in low-income population schools. Phase II, 1974-1977, made the transition from intern focus to retraining focus and from service mode to demonstration mode. Phase III, 1978 forward, focuses on long term projects to demonstrate institutional change in colleges and universities and school systems.

165. From its beginnings, Teacher Corps has attempted to meld together three elements--schools serving the disadvantaged, the communities served by those schools and institutions that train teachers--to plan and carry out jointly a field-based teacher education effort. Since 1966, the Teacher Corps goals have been broadened to include attracting and training volunteers as tutors, developing educational personnel to work with delinquents and adult criminals, and retraining experienced teachers in demonstration projects.

166. The program goals for FY 1978, as stated in the legislation, are to strengthen the educational opportunities available to children in areas having concentrations of low-income families, to encourage colleges and universities to broaden their programs of teacher preparation, and to encourage institutions of higher education and local educational agencies to improve programs of training and retraining for teachers and teacher aids. These goals are to be accomplished by:

- attracting and training qualified teachers;
- attracting and training inexperienced teacher interns who will be made available for teaching and inservice training in teams led by an experienced teacher;
- attracting volunteers to serve as part-time tutors or full-time instructional assistants;
- attracting and training educational personnel to provide relevant remedial, basic, and secondary educational training, including literacy and communication skills, for juvenile delinquents, youth offenders, and adult criminal offenders; and
- supporting demonstration projects for retraining experienced teachers and teacher aides.

167. The last activity responds to the 1974 amendments. The demonstrations must reflect new programs and practices which stress linkages between preservice and inservice training and which involve the entire faculty of a school. In FY 1978, Teacher Corps projects must begin to encompass all grades in the project schools. The Four Basic Outcomes expected of each

project are: (1) an improved school climate which fosters the learning of low-income children; (2) an improved educational personnel development system for persons who are serving or will serve in schools for children of low-income families; (3) the continuation of educational improvements made as a result of the project once Federal assistance ends; (4) the adoption or adaption of those educational improvements by other educational agencies or institutions.

168. Objectives or intermediate steps designed to achieve these outcomes are required from each project and each school involved. Each set of objectives must pay detailed attention to the diversity of needs represented by a multicultural school population.

169. The basic concept of collaboration between school, community, and institution of higher education to broaden programs and processes of teacher preparation and retraining is a pervasive theme of Teacher Corps. Such a collaborative and comprehensive effort is intended to achieve real, effective, and lasting change in educational personnel development and services to disadvantaged children in the LEA, in the programs offered by the IHE, in the community, and (through dissemination and demonstration) in the nation as a whole.

PROGRAM SCOPE

170. In FY 1977 there were 117 operational Teacher Corps projects located in 109 school districts, 108 institutions of higher education, and 6 State Departments of Education, for a total of 223 project sites. In addition, 58 new projects were funded for their initial operational year. These projects directly affected the learning experience of about 700,000 children, most of whom were in elementary schools.

171. In FY 1978, $12 million was obligated to fund 81 new projects. Projects are located in all States. Those beginning in FY 1978 may be funded for a period not to exceed five years.

172. The Teacher Corps legislation requires that a number not to exceed a maximum of 5 percent of Teacher Corps members shall be allocated to Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory. Similarly, up to 5 percent shall be allocated to schools operated by the Department of the Interior for Indian

children. The remainder of Teacher Corps members must be allocated to the States in proportion to the number of children in public and private elementary and secondary schools as a percentage of the national school population. The Commissioner may, however, adjust the number of Teacher Corps members allocated to a State if he determines that the number of members originally allocated would not be needed in a given year.

173. As the following table indicates, the budget for Teacher Corps has increased from an initial $9.5 million in 1966 to $37.5 million in 1973; budget levels have not increased since 1973.

YEAR	AUTHORIZATION	APPROPRIATION
1966	$ 36,100,000	$ 9,500,000
1967	64,715,000	11,324,000
1968	33,000,000	13,500,000
1969	46,000,000	20,900,000
1970	80,000,000	21,737,000
1971	100,000,000	30,800,000
1972	100,000,000	37,435,000
1973	37,500,000	37,500,000
1974	37,500,000	37,500,000
1975	37,500,000	37,500,000
1976	37,500,000	37,500,000
1977	50,000,000	37,500,000
1978	75,000,000	37,500,000
1979	100,000,000	37,500,000

174. The estimated budget for FY 1980 is $37 million (about ($19.6 million in constant '67 dollars.) In FY 1979, the Commissioner proposed to fund the intial year of 40 new projects and the second year of the 81 new projects approved in FY '78. The total number of interns and experienced teachers to be served in FY '79 was estimated to be 24,000. In addition, $7.38 million will be used to fund contracts for the national technical and developmental services of Teacher Corps.

175. The authorization for Teacher Corps funds was, until 1976, tied to the overall funding for EPDA. Teacher Corps funds were authorized at 20 percent of EPDA, or $37.5 million, whichever was higher. The 1976 Amendments to the Higher Education Act raised the authorization levels, but the actual appropriations have not changed.

176. In the 13-year history of Teacher Corps to 1978, it was estimated that 9,100 local educational personnel and 9,099 teacher interns have received training in the 618 projects that have been funded. On an annual basis, approximately 50 percent of submitted applications are approved for grant awards. Of this number, better than 50 percent are for IHEs or LEAs that have received a previous Teacher Corps grant.

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

177. The legal framework for Teacher Corps consists of the authorizing legislation and the program regulations (45 C.F.R. 172). The legal authority for the Teacher Corps program is found in Title V-A of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-329) as amended by P.L. 90-35, P.L. 90-575, P.L. 91-230, P.L. 92-318, P.L. 93-380, and P.L. 94-482. The current legislation expires in FY '79 and will be reviewed by the Education and Labor Committee (Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education Subcommittee) in the House and the Human Resources Committee (Education, Arts, and Humanities Subcommittee) in the Senate. The appropriation for Teacher Corps is a part of the regular DHEW budget request. Program regulations were published in February of 1978. These regulations implement the authorizing statutes and reflect the significant amendments of 1974 and 1976. No other form of program requirements is in use in this program.

Grants Process

178. Teacher Corps makes grants to both a local educational agency and an institution of higher education to mount and manage a joint project. Project applications are processed and approved by Federal headquarters staff in Washington. Before Federal officials approve a project, the application must be approved by the project's State education agency (SEA). State approval ensures that the project is consistent with State laws, rules, etc., and with the State's overall plan for teacher education.

179. The project management structure includes an elected community council of at least seven members representative of parents of children attending project schools and of other residents of the area served by the schools. Each project is governed by a Policy Board that includes the dean of the school of education in the IHE, the superintendent

of the LEA and the chairperson of the community council. Other members may be added to the Policy Board, such as students, teacher-interns, organizations representing teachers or principals, etc. An SEA may also participate in a project by providing training for Teacher Corps members.

180. Beginning in 1978, the LEA/IHE application may be approved for a period not to exceed five years; until 1978, projects were limited to two years of Federal support. In the new five-year cycle, the first year is devoted to planning and development of the project, including election of the community council, selection of the team leader, recruitment of interns, and refinement of the intermediate steps or objectives selected to accomplish the required outcomes of the national program. In the second and third year, the focus is on operations; in the fourth year, it is on institutionalization; in the fifth, it is on adoption.

181. Each year, project grants are renewed based upon availability of funds and continued effectiveness of the project. Level of funding for each of the five years is limited by regulation to not more than $150,000 for the first year, approximately $275,000 each for the second and third years, approximately $200,000 for the fourth year, and approximately $150,000 for the final year. If an SEA participates in a project, a separate grant is made to the SEA.

182. Each application approved for a grant must serve schools that serve children from low-income areas. To qualify under this requirement, all elementary schools served by a project must also be eligible for services under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. This provision is as far as the program goes in attempting to ensure that the Teacher Corps focus remains on the needs of children from low-income areas. There is no further requirement that projects serve only identified, disadvantaged children.

183. Once a grant has been approved, a project operates independently. The Policy Board governs the project and develops its own bylaws. Each project is monitored by and receives guidance from the Federal government officials assigned to the project within OE's Teacher Corps office. The project submits to the National Teacher Corps Office a yearly progress report that is based on the stated objectives of the project, as noted in the grant application. The reports are reviewed against expected progress.

184. On a national basis, the Federal government provides various technical and developmental services. These incude technical assistance and referral centers, regional and State networks, national conferences, and several recruitment, community, and staff training efforts.

Eligible Participants

185. An *intern* is defined in the regulations as a person recruited to serve who has a bachelor's degree or its equivalent, with or without a teaching certificate, who has not had full-time, paid teaching experience. If sufficient numbers of such people are not available, interns may be persons who have completed two or more years of credit towards a bachelor's degree. The interns participate in a training program that provides practical classroom experience in each of the project schools (no more than one-half of each school day), academic study leading to a higher degree, and practical experience and training in the community served by the project. Interns work as members of a team consisting of no more than 4 interns and one experienced teacher. They may be recruited from a national list of candidates that is provided to each grantee by the National Teacher Corps office; however, recruiting from this list is not a requirement. Recruits must, however, be broadly representative of the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the community being served by the project. Interns are under no obligation to serve in the LEA or in low-income areas once the Teacher Corps experience has ended.

186. Experienced teachers apply to the project staff to serve as *team leaders* and are compensated by the local educational agency. Volunteers who serve as part-time *tutors* or full-time *instructional aides* in project schools may also be trained in a Teacher Corps project and may be paid if local policy permits. In the current redirection of the program toward inservice training and demonstration, all teachers in the selected project schools will be able to participate in project activities.

Compensation

187. The legal framework of Teacher Corps provides for the compensation of all participants in the project. Teacher-interns receive a stipend for time spent in training at the IHE and payment for moving household goods and for service in the project schools. Provision is also made for dependents of the intern during the project year. Teachers and other educational personnel from the LEA receive stipends for summer training periods. If the project is in jeopardy without such funds, the LEA may use grant funds to pay for released time for personnel training.

188. Local educational agencies must pay at least 10 percent of the compensation of Teacher Corps members assigned to them. The remainder is paid from grant funds.

PROGRAM SERVICES

189. As indicated above, the overall purpose of Teacher Corps is to strengthen the educational opportunities available to children in areas having concentrations of low-income families. To do this, the Federal policy is to encourage institutions of higher education and local educational agencies to broaden and improve programs of teacher preparation and retraining of existing teachers, teacher aides, and other educational personnel. The Federal strategy here combines elements of recruitment of teacher interns to serve in disadvantaged areas, teacher preparation for interns, training of volunteers and teacher aides, retraining of teachers and other educational personnel, and active attempts to achieve systemic change in teacher education. The IHE, LEA, and the community jointly determine the major focus and the specific objectives of the project.

190. Federal policy requires that the objectives be designed to achieve the four Basic Outcomes. With regard to the "improved school climate" outcome, the intermediate objectives may incude curriculum, reorganization, or other changes that affect an entire school. School objectives must also aim at improving the competencies of project participants (1) in recognizing and responding to the diverse multicultural needs of children, (2) in diagnosing of the learning and behavior problems of a wide range of children, and (3) in prescribing learning activities to meet those needs.

191. With regard to changing and improving local educational personnel development, projects must prepare individualized plans for participants. Training must be field-based and must represent an improvement by the IHE and LEA in delivering training to staff. In addition, the project must establish in its management plan the steps to be taken to continue educational improvements resulting from the project after Federal funding terminates, and specify demonstration/dissemination activities to particular audiences to share successes and failures of the project.

192. Although local projects function relatively independently, they are free to join a series of networks fostered by the national program and organized according to geographical location or along lines of substantive interest. Among the purposes of these networks are: the support of mutually

needed, high priority training activities; the sharing of ideas, methods, materials, and needs; and the facilitation of linkages and interactions between project personnel and SEAs, resource persons and agencies, other teacher education programs, and teacher and professional organizations. The networks are autonomous entities and cannot influence, evaluate, or direct individual project management. Each network employs an Executive Secretary and is governed by a Board of Directors consisting of the Directors of projects and a Dean's Council. There are currently 12 geographic and 3 thematic networks in operation across the country.

193. In addition to funding and monitoring grants for services provided by local projects, and monitoring the operation of the networks, the program staff at the national level provides a number of other technical assistance and developmental activities in support of local projects. In FY '78, approximately $10 million, a larger amount than usual, was spent on such activities. These increases were made necessary by national planning and implementation of the new orientation to retraining existing teachers and to demonstration activities. In FY '76 and '77, approximately $8.7 and $6.35 million, respectively, were spent on developmental and technical assistance.

194. The development and incorporation into local project design of five training frameworks was a recent technical assistance activity. The five models grew out of advice from the field of teacher education, which had been solicited by the program as early as 1972, and from recommendations of the National Advisory Council on Education Personnel Development. Following a series of outside Task Force recommendations in 1975, the five frameworks were developed by the national staff. The models have been disseminated to existing and new or prospective projects as guidance for developing activities. The national office suggests that each project adopt one of these frameworks as a cohesive force binding the project's objectives and activities together.

195. The five frameworks are:

(1) Training complex: a cooperative delivery system which brings together resources of schools, communities, universities, and other agencies at one site;

(2) Competency Based Teacher Education: a system of instruction and assessment based on specific competencies (defined in advance) that each individual trainee is to attain to work more effectively with children;

(3) Training for Implementing Alternative School Designs: the training of education personnel to carry out agreed-upon endemic, or systemic changes in a school;

(4) Interdisciplinary Training Approaches: the involvement of a wide range of disciplines in making decisions about how to educate children in a given local setting;

(5) Training for Systematic Adaption of Research Findings: the development of training activities based on research findings relevant to a significant and broadly defined educational problem or goal.

196. Other developmental activities at the national level include the Corpsmember Training Institute (CMTI), which has been held annually since 1975. The CMTI brings together all Interns and Team Leaders to develop understanding of the program and a sense of cohesion prior to beginning the project experience. The curriculum for CMTI introduces concepts of organizational theory, teaching and learning theory, and multi-cultural education. Materials for the organization theory instruction were field-tested in pilot workshops in two networks. Also included are national developmental training conferences, inservice planning/development processes, and a technical assistance project designed to pull together data and a general knowledge base on training teachers.

PROGRAM RESULTS

197. Evaluation of the Teacher Corps has been a difficult undertaking. There have been nine studies of program performance conducted on a national scale, but the findings have been mixed and spotty and therefore not particularly useful in refining Teacher Corps policy. These results may stem from several factors not entirely within the control of the Federal program officers, project participants, or, in some cases, the evaluators. Primary among these factors is the general nature of evaluation in the teacher education field: findings in these studies indicate that successful attempts to effect systemic change in IHEs and LEAs may need to go much further than program goals, and school activities can go. The entire social milieu within which the projects operate and the resultant distribution of power and authority are more

likely to determine the priority within which innovation is received and accepted than any factors the Teacher Corps can affect. For example, in the early years the change-agent for Teacher Corps was the intern. The painful lesson learned was that real change must have the confidence and support of regular teachers and the responsible agency authorities. The basic result of the intern-as-change-agent strategy was to disillusion or radicalize the interns themselves rather than to bring about changes in schools.[1]

198. Second, the timeliness and relevance of the studies had little impact on national policy, legislation, budget and program management decisions. Few suggestions were made in the study reports as to what policy changes were needed and how the Federal level should go about making improvements. Teacher Corps has been a flexible and dynamic program, and legislative, program management and other policy changes have been frequent. In many instances, policy that was being evaluated by the national studies of the program had changed by the time the evaluation studies were completed. For example, a very thorough evaluation of Teacher Corps interns was completed in 1974, after the basic direction of the program was changed by legislation to focus on retraining of experienced teachers.

199. Third, the designs of the studies have relied predominantly on questionnaires and on-site personel interviews and have used small samples of projects. Although some classroom observations and student achievement scores have been used in two studies, little specific information has been gathered regarding the processes used by projects, the specific intern activities, the effects of Teacher Corps training on children's achievement, or comparisons between alternative strategies used by different projects. In general, national studies have used a standard evaluation perspective that follows the input-process-output model. Studies have been supported or conducted by the Office of Education, the Comptroller General's Office, and private organizations. They have looked predominantly at the results of Teacher Corps in terms of: recruitment and effects on interns, changes in delivery of services to children, collabboration processes and resultant systemic educational change.

200. Because of the diversity of the national studies, it is difficult at best to summarize and draw conclusions from the findings. Some elements are fairly clear, however, and (when planced in the context of Teacher Corps policy at the time various studies were conducted), lend some evidence to the

impact of the program. The following excerpts about the earliest studies are adapted from two sources: Annual Evaluation Report of Programs Administered by the U.S. Office of Education, 1978, and a recent study by Dr. G. Thomas Fox on the evaluation process itself, as explicated in case studies of Teacher Corps.2/

Recruitment and Effects on Interns

201. Almost all the studies indicate positive results of recruitment efforts. Interns recruited by Teacher Corps have backgrounds that are more varied than other teacher trainees and the program does recruit from outside the field of education. Teacher Corps recruits are highly motivated, more liberal, exhibit more initiative, and are less likely to be bound by existing authorities and power structures. The program also attracts a high number of nonwhite ethnic minorities as interns. The success of the recruitment process prompted one investigator to state that "probably the prime achievement of ...[Teacher Corps] was to provide a channel to attract this type of teacher."[3] Most Teacher Corps interns remain in the field of education after completing training and at least one study, conducted by Research Management Corporation (RMC) reported that 75 percent of trainees went on to obtain State Certification.[4] The 1973 study by Corwin found that interns defined their roles and objectives more in terms of stressing motivation, inquiry and creativity than did other teachers; interns expressed more confidence in the learning capacity of disadvantaged children. The multiple, tripartite and often conflicting roles of interns--as change agent, student, and service-provider to the schools--seems to have been an extremely difficult situation for many individual interns. Corwin found patterns of disillusionment, loss of initiative, assimilation to the system, and loss of commitment to teaching on the part of many interns. Some interns exhibited tendencies to become more and more radicalized out of the profession as a result of failure to effect change or to assimilate to the system.

Services to Children

202. In general, the national studies show that where Teacher Corps projects exist, children benefit from more individualized instruction and small group instruction, and communities benefit from more non-instructional services as a result of Teacher Corps. A study by Abt Associates in 1972 found new techniques for teaching reading and writing, differentiated staffing, modular instruction and introduction of English as a Second Language resulting from Teacher Corps.[5] None of the early

studies looked at specific effects on pupul achievement in Teacher Corps classrooms. The RMC study did provide evidence that most (88 percent) of the Teacher Corps projects were serving Title I eligible schools.

Systemic Educational Change

203. While most of the studies indicate that Teacher Corps projects are in compliance with or are fulfilling a high percentage of Teacher Corps goals, the most elusive purpose of the program has been to effect changes in training programs of IHEs and LEAs and adoption of innovations brought about by the program. Most of the early studies have found little in the way of lasting impact on schools and universities as a result of Teacher Corps. Some of the reasons cited for this result are: the intern-as-change-agent strategy; the politial nature of the agencies and institutions involved; deeply embedded resistance to change on the part of IHE and LEA authorities; organizational structure of projects; lack of resources to carry on innovations once the project terminated; and where training program changes did occur, limiting those changes to Teacher Corps participants rather than expansion to overall IHE teacher education programs. This is not to say that no systemic change took place in the early years of the program. Most studies indicate elements of the collaborative process that are most associated with adoption of innovations, and the Corwin study points to the incentive and opportunity for collaboration (that Teacher Corps provides) as the main contribution of the program.

204. There is also a high rate of desire by LEAs and IHEs to continue sponsorship of Teacher Corps projects. Each year approximately 58 percent of new applications for grants are from partnerships that have just completed a Teacher Corps project.

205. The most recent and comprehensive study of Teacher Corps performance was conducted from 1972 to 1975 by Pacific Training and Technical Assistance Corporation under principal investigator David Marsh. The study focused on (1) systemic change, (2) the effects of background characteristics and program characteristics on intern performance at the end of the training experience; and (3) the teaching effectiveness of Teacher Corps graduates.

206. These findings will be valuable to future policy decisions only as they relate to the preservice component of the program. Twenty elementary school Teacher Corps projects participated in the study. Phase I attempted to identify and

analyze relationships between intern background characteristics, training program characteristics and trainee classroom performance characteristics (referred to as exit characteristics). Phase II of the study sought to assess teacher performance and growth in the first year of teaching after completion of Teacher Corps experience. Teacher Corps graduates were compared with a control group of other young teachers who had not participated in the program. Teacher performance was measured by classroom observation and comparisons of pupil achievement and attitudes.

207. The results of the Marsh study were summarized in Chapter J of the Annual Evaluation Report of Programs Administered by the U.S. Office of Education and are quoted in their entirety here:

> 1. Background characteristics and training program characteristics were not good predictors of an intern's exit teaching skills and attitudes; however, to the extent that such relationships are upheld, it is the Teacher Corps training program that is most closely associated with his exit teaching skills and attitudes.
>
> 2. The training program characteristics most closely associated with intern exit teaching skills and attitudes are:
>
>   o aspects of competency based teacher education, such as the pattern of collaborative decision-making, and the degree of personalization of the program for interns
>
>   o the degree of program integration, e.g., follow-up of course-work in public school setting
>
>   o the community component for interns
>
> 3. For black, Chicano, or white interns studied separately, there were discernible patterns of relationship between intern background characteristics, Teacher Corps training program characteristics, and intern exit teaching skills and attitudes. For example, the community component of the training program for Chicano and white interns was directly related to the ability of those interns to communicate effectively with pupils. Such a relationship did not hold for black interns.

208. The conclusions drawn from Phase II of the study are:

1. Teacher Corps graduates were superior to control group teachers on many of the teacher performance variables desired by Teacher Corps projects, e.g., developing ethnically relevant curricula, using community resources in teaching and initiating contact with parents, positive attitudes about reading development and causes of poverty in society.

2. There was no difference between the two groups of teachers in terms of (a) their perception of the importance of bringing about educational change in the school, and (b) in reading gains of pupils despite a greater emphasis on reading instruction on the part of control group teachers in grades 2-3.

3. Teacher Corps graduates were able to bring about changes in a pupil's self-concept that were significantly greater than changes brought about by control group teachers.

4. Teacher Corps graduates who facilitated both high reading gains and improved self-concept tended to be teachers who brought about changes in the school and who initiated contact with parents.

5. No teacher background characteristics or Teacher Corps program variables were significantly correlated directly with pupil reading gain. A number of Teacher Corps program variables, however, were significantly correlated with pupil self-concept growth and other pupil variables. The consistent pattern of relationship between most pupil variables and Teacher Corps program characteristics strongly suggests that teacher training does make a difference in pupil behavior in the classroom and in related teacher performance.

209. The current Teacher Corps program will be evaluated over a period of several years by Stanford Research Institute (SRI). The evaluation design consists of four components: (1) a locally controlled project documentation and evaluation component to aid local program development; (2) a national process outcome assessment featuring cross-site analysis of process and outcomes; (3) a series of theory-based special project studies of project dimensions judged to be most critical to the success

of Teacher Corps projects; (4)a summative evaluation which is a secondary analysis of quantitative and qualitative data and which addresses broad policy questions related to Teacher Corps.

Summary of Findings

210. Teacher Corps has shown considerable success in attracting unique, highly motivated individuals into the service of teaching disadvantaged children. Most Teacher Corps interns stay in the field and turn out to be good teachers. In the process of a Teacher Corps project, children in areas with concentrations of low-income families benefit from more services, more individual attention and some innovative techniques. The required level of collaboration exists in projects, and some systemic change has occurred as a result of the program; however, the extent to which the program engenders lasting systemic change for teacher education is still an open question.

NOTES

[1] For further discussion of this point see: Corwin, Ronald G., Reform and Organizational Survival: The Teacher Corps as an Instrument of Educational Change, New York, Wiley-Interscience, 1973.

[2] Fox, G. Thomas, Limitations of a Standard Perspective on Program Evaluation: The Example of Ten Years of Teacher Corps Evaluation, University of Wisconsin, 1977.

[3] Corwin, op. cit. quoted in Ibid., p. 31.

[4] Full-Scale Implementation of a Process Evaluation System for Programs of the National Center for the Improvement of Educational Systems, Report UR-172, RMC, Bethesda, Maryland, December 1972.

[5] Innovation and Change: A Study of Strategies in Selected Projects Supported by NCES, Abt Associates, December 1972.

LES PROGRAMMES D'ENSEIGNEMENT
DE SOUTIEN AUX ETATS-UNIS

RESUME

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LES PROGRAMMES ET LEURS OBJECTIFS COMMUNS

Il ressort des programmes examinés dans les chapitres III à VIII que les objectifs assignés aux divers programmes fédéraux actuellement en vigueur n'ont pas été définis d'une façon soigneusement orchestrée. L'ensemble des mesures actuelles est le fruit des nombreuses initiatives prises isolément par les commissions du Congrès, par des particuliers, des tribunaux, des groupes d'intérêt et les gouvernements qui se sont succédé pendant près de vingt-cinq ans. En dépit de leurs origines différentes, ces mesures forment un tout remarquablement complet, comme en témoigne la diversité des objectifs assignés aux programmes suivants :

- Le programme "Head Start" : Fournir l'aide financière nécessaire pour que les municipalités puissent offrir des services complets d'éducation préscolaire aux enfants en bas âge des familles à faible revenu et leur permettre, grâce à cette intervention précoce, d'échapper à la fatalité qui les condamne à demeurer dans la pauvreté et tout au bas de l'échelle sociale. Cette mesure vise aussi les parents des enfants défavorisés, puisqu'elle doit les inciter, d'une part, à s'intéresser plus activement au développement de leurs enfants dès leur plus jeune âge et, d'autre part, à choisir et à utiliser de façon plus avisée les services sociaux existants.

- La loi sur l'enseignement primaire et secondaire (ESEA), Titre I : En vertu de ses dispositions, les autorités scolaires locales reçoivent une aide financière pour dispenser un enseignement spécial de soutien et d'autres services auxiliaires aux enfants des quartiers pauvres et à ceux qui appartiennent à des groupes spéciaux de la population. Ces mesures destinées à une catégorie bien définie de bénéficiaires comprennent des services spéciaux, la formation à des attitudes propices à l'étude et l'enseignement de certaines connaissances élémentaires ; elles devraient être appliquées de façon plus ou moins permanente afin que leurs bienfaits se fassent sentir tout au long de la scolarité ultérieure des enfants.

- La formation professionnelle pour les adolescents défavorisés : Il s'agit d'une aide financière versée aux états et aux autorités scolaires locales afin qu'ils puissent offrir des services de soutien aux adolescents et aux adultes défavorisés qui suivent une formation professionnelle ou un stage pratique. Ces services spéciaux doivent leur fournir soit le soutien nécessaire pour qu'ils puissent suivre un programme ordinaire de formation professionnelle, soit un enseignement élémentaire de rattrapage afin d'améliorer leurs chances de trouver et de conserver un emploi.

- Programmes spéciaux pour les étudiants défavorisés : Ils comprennent un enseignement de soutien et des activités consultatives spéciales qui ont pour objet d'encourager les adolescents défavorisés à poursuivre des études post-secondaires et de les faire bénéficier de l'assistance financière à laquelle ils ont droit. En outre, ces programmes offrent aux adolescents défavorisés qui ont entrepris des études post-secondaires le soutien supplémentaire dont ils ont souvent besoin pour faire des progrès satisfaisants.

- Bourses d'études : Elles sont versées directement aux candidats à des études post-secondaires afin que les difficultés financières ne les empêchent pas de faire des études supérieures et ne les limitent pas dans le choix de l'établissement.

- Les programmes du "Teacher Corps" : Ces programmes ont pour objet de fournir un encouragement et une aide aux autorités scolaires locales et aux établissements d'enseignement supérieur, afin que ceux-ci augmentent le nombre des spécialistes qui s'occupent des élèves défavorisés, veillent à doter leurs enseignants des connaissances, de la compréhension et des aptitudes dont ils ont besoin pour pouvoir répondre aux besoins spéciaux d'enseignement des enfants défavorisés, enfin, pour qu'ils procèdent à des transformations systématiques et qu'ils adoptent dans leur programme d'études ordinaire les améliorations qui résultent de l'exécution de l'un de ces programmes.

L'objectif général de tous les programmes étudiés est celui de fournir une assistance complémentaire du gouvernement fédéral aux enfants et adolescents des familles à faible revenu ou vivant dans des régions où ces familles sont nombreuses ;

allant de pair avec cette assistance fédérale, il est souvent exigé que les parents des bénéficiaires ou les membres de la collectivité soient représentés dans les comités consultatifs qui s'occupent dans une plus ou moins grande mesure de la planification de ces programmes.

L'opinion publique et les nouvelles orientations politiques

Dans ses décisions relatives à l'enseignement, le gouvernement américain tient compte de l'opinion publique du moment, et en particulier des vues des personnes et des groupes qui s'intéressent le plus directement à l'enseignement, aussi bien au niveau local ou régional que fédéral, à savoir, les hommes politiques, les administrateurs, les établissements d'enseignement, les spécialistes des sciences sociales et les chercheurs. Dans l'ensemble, trois courants d'opinion distincts semblent s'être succédé depuis 1960 environ. Tout d'abord, on croyait qu'il suffisait d'augmenter le volume des ressources, notamment de celles qui étaient destinées aux enfants en bas âge, pour remédier aux difficultés dues au milieu social ou familial. Par la suite, on s'est aperçu qu'à lui seul, un montant plus élevé de ressources n'éliminerait jamais ces difficultés et que l'école n'apportait pas la contribution escomptée à l'égalisation des chances. De même, selon un avis très répandu, les programmes fédéraux n'avaient guère, voire nullement, aidé à atteindre ne fut-ce que l'objectif à court terme, qui était de relever le niveau des résultats scolaires des élèves défavorisés. Au cours d'une troisième phase, la plus récente, nombre d'observateurs ont estimé que les programmes commençaient à donner quelques résultats positifs mais que les écoles étaient désormais chargées d'innombrables tâches d'ordre social ou subalterne qu'elles ne pouvaient assumer qu'au détriment de la qualité de leur enseignement de base.

L'effet le plus important qu'ont eu ces courants d'opinion a été de mettre un frein aux réformes scolaires. La plupart des modifications et des perfectionnements que le gouvernement fédéral a apportés à sa politique d'éducation se sont traduits par des changements très modestes qui se sont échelonnés sur plusieurs années à la suite de l'adoption des grands programmes nouveaux entre 1960 et 1970. Si contestée que fût l'efficacité de ces programmes, leur but essentiel n'a pas été modifié. Leur mise en oeuvre s'est poursuivie, les fonds sont en général allés en augmentant (parfois dans des proportions minimes, mais ils n'ont jamais été fortement réduits et moins encore supprimés) et quelques programmes nouveaux ont fait leur apparition.

A mesure que ces programmes étaient appliqués, on a découvert que les besoins d'instruction des groupes défavorisés soulevaient de nombreux problèmes très complexes qui n'étaient pas apparus au début, et on a pu constater que l'instruction était, sinon la seule, tout au moins l'une des conditions indispensables à l'égalité et à l'équité. Par conséquent, les nouvelles mesures adoptées par les pouvoirs publics ont principalement visé à accroître l'efficacité des programmes existants, autrement dit, la qualité de leur exécution et de leurs résultats.

La coordination avec les milieux éducatifs extra-scolaires

Pour mieux saisir les buts assignés à ces mesures ainsi que les intentions dont elles s'inspirent, il convient d'examiner si les activités des pédagogues et des milieux éducatifs sont coordonnées avec celles d'autres personnes et d'autres milieux qui ont une influence sur la façon dont les enfants apprennent, ou bien si elles sont complètement dissociées.

Il ressort des programmes étudiés que la situation diffère largement de l'un à l'autre. Non seulement le degré de coordination exigé dans les programmes varie, mais les rapports établis entre ceux qui exécutent ces programmes, les parents, le milieu familial et l'entourage des élèves diffèrent beaucoup d'un cas à l'autre et selon qu'ils sont ou non prescrits par le programme.

La participation des parents. Le gouvernement fédéral a pris deux mesures différentes pour encourager les parents à participer aux programmes d'enseignement. Il a en général attaché beaucoup d'importance aux efforts personnels. Nombre d'enseignants partaient de l'idée que les personnes défavorisées savaient ce qui leur faisait défaut et que, à condition de leur procurer les possibilités et les ressources nécessaires, elles étaient le plus souvent à même d'améliorer leur situation. Le législateur prit ainsi des dispositions spéciales pour que les parents participent aux programmes (essentiellement afin qu'ils exercent un contrôle sur l'utilisation des ressources). Les parents d'élèves étaient appelés à intervenir à titre administratif et consultatif par l'intermédiaire des Comités consultatifs de parents d'élèves qui comprenaient des représentants de ces derniers, des bénéficiaires du programme et des habitants de la localité où vivaient les enfants. Une autre façon de faire participer les parents était de les associer aux activités d'apprentissage de leurs enfants.

Parmi les programmes étudiés, "Head Start", les dispositions prévues au Titre I de l'ESEA et le "Teacher Corps" prévoient une participation administrative et consultative des parents d'élèves. Celle-ci est aussi prescrite dans d'autres programmes, tels que le Programme d'enseignement bilingue aux niveaux primaire et secondaire. En revanche, la participation des parents tient peu de place dans les Programmes de formation professionnelle et dans les Programmes spéciaux pour les étudiants défavorisés.

Le programme "Head Start" exige aussi une collaboration étroite des parents à l'instruction de leurs enfants. Non seulement ils sont encouragés à soutenir et à renforcer l'enseignement dispensé aux enfants pendant toute la durée du programme, mais on essaie aussi de persuader les parents d'appliquer les mêmes méthodes après l'achèvement du programme, de conserver les mêmes attentes et de continuer à suivre de près le développement de leurs enfants.

La participation de la collectivité. La participation de la collectivité se présente elle aussi sous les deux formes que nous venons de décrire. Les fonctions administratives et consultatives qu'assument les représentants de la collectivité sont très importantes, notamment pour les programmes qui s'adressent aux enfants d'âge préscolaire et aux élèves des premières années de l'école primaire. La collectivité, les milieux industriels et les représentants des travailleurs participent aussi activement aux programmes de formation professionnelle de niveau secondaire, qui doivent être adaptés aux besoins locaux de main-d'oeuvre, aux possibilités d'emploi et aux innovations techniques.

Toutefois, jusqu'à présent, les programmes fédéraux ne semblent pas avoir beaucoup encouragé les autorités compétentes à faire appel aux ressources de la collectivité pour l'instruction des enfants et des adolescents défavorisés. Et pourtant, ce concours serait particulièrement utile à l'école secondaire, où les adolescents qui se préparent à entrer dans le monde des adultes demeurent isolés de cet univers. Les auteurs de plusieurs études publiées ces dernières années ont signalé cette lacune et émis le voeu que l'école secondaire et la collectivité collaborent étroitement afin d'aider ces adolescents à passer de l'école à la vie active.

La politique budgétaire

Cette mosaïque de mesures repose, à l'évidence, sur des principes homogènes et sur des programmes très divers, mais pour juger du degré de consensus atteint, il faut s'enquérir du montant des dépenses afférentes à ces nombreuses activités. Dès lors qu'une action aussi vaste que celle qui est prévue au Titre I de l'ESEA est lancée, elle acquiert une vie propre et il sera difficile de la supprimer ou de la réduire fortement. La forme initiale et les dispositions institutionnelles prévues par le législateur sont étroitement liées aux niveaux ultérieurs des ressources budgétaires qui seront allouées à la mise en oeuvre d'un programme donné. Le montant des crédits budgétaires accordés pour l'exercice financier 1978 pour les programmes étudiés ici variaient fortement de l'un à l'autre (Figure 9.1, page 116). On ne peut cependant présumer que ces volumes de financement très divers correspondaient à une politique générale délibérément suivie pour la répartition des fonds fédéraux entre les divers services d'enseignement destinés aux groupes défavorisés. Aucune ligne d'orientation n'avait été prévue. Ces programmes ont été approuvés au cours des dix à quinze dernières années par le Congrès à des fins différentes et à des moments différents, mais ils avaient tous pour but de répondre à un besoin donné des groupes défavorisés. La répartition des fonds illustrée à la Figure 9.1 donne donc une idée de l'ordre de priorité qui avait été fixé pour l'action fédérale en 1978. Les crédits les plus importants étaient alloués aux services directs d'enseignement de soutien (aux termes du Titre I de l'ESEA) dans les écoles primaires et secondaires des quartiers qui comptent une proportion élevée de familles à faible revenu, ainsi qu'aux bourses (dites BEOG) octroyées directement aux étudiants, afin qu'ils puissent poursuivre des études post-secondaires en dépit de leurs difficultés financières personnelles.

L'évolution des crédits destinés à ces programmes a, elle aussi, fortement varié selon les cas. Alors que pour certains programmes, les crédits ont augmenté dans des proportions spectaculaires depuis leur entrée en vigueur (par exemple, pour les services prévus au Titre I de l'ESEA et pour les bourses BEOG) d'autres en revanche se sont accrus lentement.

Financement. Les fonctions qu'assume le gouvernement fédéral dans sa recherche de l'équité dans l'enseignement sont elles aussi raisonnablement homogènes. Dans toutes les mesures de financement du gouvernement fédéral, la contribution fédérale conserve son caractère complémentaire. En effet, les services d'enseignement offerts aux enfants d'âge préscolaire sont financés aussi bien par le secteur public que par le secteur privé et les particuliers. Aux niveaux primaire et secondaire, il appartient en premier lieu à l'état et à l'administration locale de financer l'enseignement public. Quant aux études post-secondaires, il est généralement admis qu'elles doivent être laissées au libre choix et à la charge de l'intéressé mais le gouvernement fédéral a eu pour principe général de fournir une assistance aux étudiants défavorisés pour leur donner plus de liberté de choix.

Une autre caractéristique est commune à toutes les mesures de financement du gouvernement fédéral : leurs programmes d'application s'adressent toujours à une seule catégorie de bénéficiaires. Aucune des mesures n'a été créée pour fournir une assistance permanente et générale aux bénéficiaires, mais plutôt pour leur apporter une aide à court terme aux différents niveaux de leurs études. L'assistance fédérale n'est pas non plus conçue comme une aide générale aux écoles ou à d'autres établissements d'enseignement. Les conditions à remplir pour bénéficier de ces mesures ont beau différer selon les programmes, ceux-ci n'en ont pas moins tous systématiquement pour objet de fournir un service donné à une catégorie donnée de bénéficiaires.

Les ordres de priorité budgétaires. La place réservée dans le budget aux diverses mesures de cet ensemble hétérogène diffère largement selon les cas. Le Titre I de l'ESEA et le programme "Head Start" occupent à eux deux le premier rang dans le budget de l'enseignement (avec 3.360 millions de dollars). Il faut en conclure que le gouvernement fédéral accorde la priorité aux interventions en faveur de l'éducation préscolaire et des premières années de l'enseignement primaire afin d'éliminer l'écart qui semble exister entre les qualités que requiert le système d'enseignement et celles que présentent les enfants des milieux défavorisés au moment où ils commencent leur scolarité.

Les bourses BEOG occupent le deuxième rang dans le budget (avec 2.160 millions de dollars) et témoignent du souci du gouvernement que nul ne soit empêché d'entreprendre des études post-secondaires et de s'inscrire dans l'établissement de son choix faute de moyens financiers suffisants.

La troisième place revient aux crédits affectés aux mesures prévues par la Loi sur la formation professionnelle (avec 106 millions de dollars) et aux Programmes spéciaux pour les étudiants défavorisés (avec 115 millions de dollars) qui ont pour objet d'encourager les adolescents à achever leurs études secondaires générales ou à suivre une formation professionnelle, que ce soit pour prendre immédiatement un emploi ou pour continuer des études post-secondaires.

Enfin, en quatrième lieu viennent les crédits (de l'ordre de 37,5 millions de dollars) affectés à la formation spéciale qui est dispensée aux enseignants ayant à s'occuper d'enfants défavorisés, par l'intermédiaire du "Teacher Corps" afin de les inciter à apporter toutes les modifications et les améliorations nécessaires pour atteindre le but visé.

LES BENEFICIAIRES DES MESURES

Il suffit de passer en revue les mesures actuellement en vigueur pour se rendre compte que le terme défavorisés a plusieurs significations, puisque les dispositions et leurs programmes s'appliquent à des groupes et à des personnes extrêmement divers.

Raisons pour lesquelles certains groupes sont défavorisés

Depuis 1960 environ, de nombreuses enquêtes et études ont été effectuées pour déterminer les caractéristiques propres aux groupes défavorisés de la société américaine. Selon l'opinion la plus répandue actuellement, certains enfants sont défavorisés parce qu'ils vivent dans des conditions sociales et dans un milieu qui les empêchent de réussir dans leurs études et qui les condamnent par là même à rester au bas de l'échelle sociale et dans la pauvreté.

Peu après 1950, on croyait fréquemment que les mauvaises conditions socio-économiques et, surtout, l'appartenance à une minorité, expliquaient largement l'état d'infériorité dans lequel certains enfants se trouvaient sur le plan de l'instruction. Le Rapport Coleman devait confirmer, avec une solide documentation à l'appui, le bien-fondé de cette idée. Des études ultérieures ont elles aussi corroboré ce rapport entre les mauvais résultats scolaires et les mauvaises conditions socio-économiques de la famille, même en dehors de toute appartenance à un groupe minoritaire. Les pédagogues et les spécialistes des sciences sociales continuent à rechercher les causes exactes des mauvais résultats scolaires à l'aide de théories qui vont d'une "privation culturelle" et de disparités dans les phases d'acquisition des connaissances jusqu'à l'incapacité de l'école de s'adapter à la diversité de ses élèves et à la prétendue existence d'un système de castes aux Etats-Unis.

Les rapports entre les mauvais résultats scolaires et la pauvreté

Les mesures adoptées aux alentours de 1965 et leurs programmes d'application prescrivaient que les fonds devaient être alloués et versés uniquement aux personnes qui vivaient dans des conditions économiques déterminées. Ce critère économique était absolu et s'appliquait à l'ensemble du pays. Les bénéficiaires des services prévus devaient aussi remplir d'autres conditions qui sont toutefois souvent difficiles à mesurer en fonction d'une norme générale, ainsi, la privation culturelle. Le principe adopté était que la privation économique a une incidence sur les résultats scolaires et sur les perspectives d'un adulte d'élever son niveau de vie.

Les conditions requises pour bénéficier des divers programmes englobaient trois aspects de la privation d'ordre économique selon que la pauvreté frappait une région, un groupe ou une personne. C'est ainsi que les premières activités créées en vertu des programmes "Head Start" et celles qui ont été lancées en application du Titre I de l'ESEA ont suivi deux voies distinctes. Les programmes "Head Start" faisaient à l'origine partie des actions communautaires. Comme les "Community Action Agencies" (CAA, organismes d'action communautaire) étaient organisées en fonction des besoins économiques d'un groupe ou d'une région donnée, on avait présumé que les programmes "Head Start" entrepris par ces organismes seraient automatiquement destinés aux enfants de familles défavorisées. Ce ne fut qu'au bout de plusieurs années, après 1970, que les candidats à ces programmes furent tenus d'attester que leur revenu personnel était inférieur à un certain seuil.

Les dispositions prévues au Titre I de l'ESEA conféraient en revanche une orientation et des fonctions entièrement nouvelles au gouvernement fédéral dans le secteur de l'enseignement. Dès le départ, elles étaient assorties d'une définition précise de l'ampleur et de la nature de la pauvreté que les activités prévues devaient combattre. Les auteurs de ce projet de loi songeaient à un programme qui, tout en étant appliqué par les écoles publiques dans la plupart des circonscriptions scolaires du pays, serait principalement destiné aux familles qui constituent des "proches de pauvreté" dans chacune de ces circonscriptions.

Dans une déclaration faite en 1965 devant la sous-commission de l'enseignement de la Commission sénatoriale du travail et de la santé publique, Francis Keppel, alors commissaire de l'enseignement, expliqua que le gouvernement entendait établir une base de calcul pour l'allocation des fonds, qui seraient accordés en fonction du revenu : 2.000 dollars de revenu annuel devant constituer le seuil de pauvreté. Lors du débat, il avait reconnu que ce seuil était très faible et qu'il servirait simplement à identifier les cas incontestables de misère. La base de calcul exacte à adopter pour répartir les fonds entre les autorités scolaires locales se fonderait, quant à elle, sur le nombre d'enfants pauvres dans la circonscription et sur d'autres éléments tels que les dépenses par élève. Cependant, cette base de calcul servirait uniquement à la répartition des fonds entre les circonscriptions locales et les écoles qui présentent la proportion la plus élevée d'enfants pauvres, et le choix des enfants auxquels s'appliquerait un programme devrait s'effectuer en fonction du degré auquel ils sont défavorisés du point de vue scolaire. Autrement dit, le critère économique serait appliqué pour calculer le montant des fonds à accorder à chaque état, circonscription scolaire ou école, alors que les résultats scolaires serviraient de critère pour choisir les élèves qui bénéficieraient des mesures spéciales.

Le commissaire Keppel mentionna aussi, au cours de sa déclaration, les études qui avaient montré la corrélation étroite qui existe entre le revenu familial et les faibles résultats scolaires des enfants. En réponse aux questions posées par les membres de la commission, Keppel convint que le faible revenu de la famille n'était pas toujours à l'origine des mauvais résultats scolaires mais ajouta que la pauvreté était un moyen de prévoir de façon assez satisfaisante les résultats scolaires des enfants et que les statistiques nationales du revenu des ménages offraient une base pour une répartition équitable des fonds dans l'ensemble du pays, du niveau fédéral à l'échelon provincial, et que la pauvreté constituait "un critère de l'absence de possibilités d'instruction".

La corrélation positive très élevée entre la pauvreté et les mauvais résultats scolaires ne signifie cependant pas que la plupart des enfants qui obtiennent de mauvais résultats à l'école proviennent d'un milieu pauvre. Comme les enfants de milieux pauvres sont moins nombreux dans l'ensemble de la population que ceux d'autres milieux, il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner que 67 % des mauvais élèves ne proviennent pas d'une famille pauvre. Cependant, alors que 18 % des enfants du pays tout entier appartiennent à des milieux pauvres, 33 % des mauvais élèves sont d'une famille pauvre. Autrement dit, les enfants pauvres forment une proportion excessive des mauvais élèves.

Comment combiner plusieurs critères

Même si les programmes étudiés ici visent essentiellement à remédier aux effets néfastes que la pauvreté a sur le niveau d'instruction, les conditions requises pour en bénéficier ne se fondent pas toutes dans les mêmes proportions sur le critère du faible revenu familial. Les conséquences pratiques qu'entraîne cette diversité des critères ressortent des programmes étudiés, qui montrent clairement que la pauvreté sert de critère dans l'examen des conditions économiques propres à la région, au groupe ou à la personne considérée mais que dans la plupart des cas, les trois situations sont prises en considération pour choisir les bénéficiaires d'un programme.

Champ réellement couvert par les programmes

Ces programmes ont été conçus pour une proportion très élevée de personnes, mais le nombre de celles qui en bénéficient réellement varie considérablement selon les cas, car il dépend à la fois des crédits budgétaires accordés et des dispositions qui régissent leur répartition. Lorsque les bourses doivent être versées suivant une base de calcul, les étudiants défavorisés qui en bénéficieront seront probablement plus nombreux que lorsqu'ils doivent présenter une demande pour les obtenir. Ainsi, les bourses BEOG couvrent réellement tout le pays, en ce sens qu'elles sont versées directement par le gouvernement fédéral au bénéficiaire qui peut l'utiliser dans n'importe lequel des établissements post-secondaires approuvés des Etats-Unis. Les fonds afférents à certains programmes, en revanche, sont accordés aux états en fonction d'une base de calcul, pour être ensuite alloués aux circonscriptions scolaires qui y ont droit. Pour d'autres, ils sont versés à l'endroit où le projet est réalisé, directement aux candidats qui en font la demande.

Les dispositions du Titre I de l'ESEA illustrent le cas d'un programme pour lequel la répartition des fonds se fonde sur une base de calcul. Pendant l'exercice 1976, quelque 90 % des circonscriptions scolaires des Etats-Unis ont bénéficié de ce programme : plus les circonscriptions comptaient d'enfants pauvres, plus elles recevaient de fonds. Chaque autorité scolaire locale répartit les fonds qu'elle a reçus entre les écoles qui desservent la proportion la plus élevée de familles pauvres.

Il existe aussi une base de calcul pour l'allocation aux états des fonds destinés aux Programmes de formation professionnelle. Mais dans ce cas, les autorités scolaires locales de chaque état doivent déposer une demande pour obtenir le supplément de 20 % à réserver spécialement aux élèves défavorisés et pour recevoir des fonds au titre du Programme spécial pour les étudiants défavorisés. Ces sommes sont destinées aux régions les plus nécessiteuses de l'état et les autorités scolaires locales qui les reçoivent doivent désigner les élèves qui en bénéficieront.

Tous les autres programmes étudiés ici sont financés au moyen de subventions obtenues sur demande. Pour des raisons d'équité, les fonctionnaires fédéraux attribuent des subsides à chaque état mais, avec les restrictions budgétaires actuelles, aucun de ces programmes n'est assez généreusement doté pour que des projets puissent être entrepris dans toutes les circonscriptions qui en auraient besoin ou qui ont déposé une demande à cette fin. Il convient de noter que l'un de ces programmes, le "Teacher Corps", est un programme de démonstration et n'a pas été conçu pour fournir des services permanents à une autorité scolaire locale ou à un établissement d'enseignement supérieur donné. Le programme "Head Start" et les Services spéciaux pour les étudiants défavorisés sont en revanche destinés à fournir des services proprement dits et, souvent, les projets financés sont des activités qui ont été poursuivies ou régulièrement reprises dans les établissements qui avaient déposé une demande et reçu une aide dès la mise en oeuvre des programmes.

Le degré auquel les programmes parviennent à atteindre les bénéficiaires prévus varie largement. Le programme BEOG fournit des bourses de montants variables à tous les étudiants qui ont déposé une demande à cette fin et qui remplissent les conditions exigées. Le nombre des bénéficiaires dépend donc largement de celui des étudiants qui ont connaissance de ces bourses et qui entreprennent les démarches pour en obtenir une.

Quant aux services prévus au Titre I de l'ESEA, on estime que 67 % des enfants qui en ont besoin et qui sont inscrits dans l'une des écoles habilitées à les dispenser en bénéficient effectivement. Un résultat aussi remarquable tient sans doute à plusieurs raisons, en particulier à la base de calcul qui sert pour la répartition des fonds, au montant élevé de ceux-ci et au fait que les autorités scolaires locales n'ont pas à déposer une demande pour les obtenir. Dans le cas des programmes "Head Start", en revanche, il semble que seuls 15 à 21 % des enfants qui auraient besoin d'une aide et d'interventions particulières à un âge précoce en bénéficient effectivement. Théoriquement, la plupart des établissements d'enseignement supérieur et des autorités scolaires locales qui dispensent une formation à leur personnel enseignant et qui appliquent un programme relevant du Titre I de l'ESEA auraient droit à une aide du "Teacher Corps". Toutefois, seules 50 % des demandes soumises chaque année à cette fin sont approuvées, encore une fois en raison des restrictions budgétaires.

Il est difficile d'estimer le nombre des bénéficiaires des Services spéciaux pour étudiants défavorisés (SSDS) et des Programmes de formation professionnelle pour adolescents défavorisés. D'après le "Office of Education", dans le cas de deux des programmes SSDS, à savoir "Upward Bound" et "Talent Search", 3,6 % seulement des personnes qui y auraient droit en bénéficient effectivement. Il n'existe aucune donnée récente sur le nombre de personnes qui pourraient théoriquement se prévaloir des Programmes de formation professionnelle pour les adolescents défavorisés.

Résumé : les groupes visés

La principale caractéristique commune à toutes les personnes défavorisées est qu'elles ont plus ou moins besoin d'une aide financière. C'est là le critère dont on se sert dans les divers programmes pour déterminer les particuliers, les groupes ou les régions qui ont droit à un service donné. La pauvreté est le critère appliqué pour la plupart de ces programmes de soutien, mais il est assorti d'autres caractéristiques sociales qui peuvent avoir une importance égale ou supérieure pour le choix définitif des bénéficiaires. Le degré auquel les diverses catégories de bénéficiaires prévues sont atteintes et réellement desservies diffère considérablement et dépend largement des principes adoptés dans le programme considéré pour la répartition des fonds.

LA MISE EN OEUVRE DES MESURES

Les dispositions administratives adoptées pour la mise en oeuvre de cet ensemble hétéroclite de mesures diffèrent grandement d'un programme à l'autre. La plupart des programmes étudiés ici ont été conçus pour fournir un service particulier à un groupe donné de la population et, qui plus est, d'expérimenter des théories ou des techniques novatrices. Un seul d'entre eux, le "Teacher Corps", est un programme de démonstration. Toutefois, nombre d'autres programmes brièvement cités dans le présent rapport ont été lancés à des fins de démonstration, en particulier les programmes d'enseignement primaire et secondaire qui s'adressent à des groupes spéciaux tels que les Amérindiens, les enfants bilingues, diverses catégories d'enfants qui souffrent de handicaps physiques ou mentaux.

Principes suivis pour la répartition des fonds et l'octroi des subsides

Les principes suivis pour l'octroi des subsides et la répartition des fonds diffèrent d'un cas à l'autre. Ce sont des formules telles que l'allocation des fonds après examen des dossiers de demande, des sommes spécialement réservées, des bases de calcul, le droit des individus à en bénéficier, et des prêts. Dans le choix des principes qui doivent présider à la répartition des fonds, les pouvoirs publics semblent avoir tenu compte des circonstances particulières qui sont à l'origine du programme considéré.

Dans les programmes tels que "Head Start" et "Upward Bound", qui sont issus d'actions communautaires, ils s'en sont tenus aux dispositions administratives en vertu desquelles les "Community Action Agencies" doivent soumettre les activités conçues et proposées à l'échelon local à l'approbation du gouvernement fédéral qui les finance après examen des demandes déposées à cette fin. Peut-être l'octroi des subsides sur demande était-il le système le plus logique et le plus équitable, eu égard au montant modeste des ressources allouées à ce programme, étant donné qu'il était impossible de prévoir exactement le nombre et la nature des demandes qui seraient soumises.

Le Programme de formation professionnelle pour les adolescents défavorisés était en principe financé au moyen d'un pourcentage fixe de la subvention générale que les états recevaient et répartissaient ensuite suivant une base de calcul. Comme la fraction fixe réservée à cette fin devait être utilisée pour les enfants qui en avaient le plus besoin, les états étaient tenus de répartir la subvention générale sur une base sélective entre les divers ayants droit de leur territoire.

Les dispositions du Titre I de l'ESEA, en revanche, prévoyaient dès le départ un programme de portée nationale pour les enfants défavorisés du point de vue scolaire qui vivent dans des "poches de pauvreté". Mais, comme elles étaient aussi la première tentative de grande envergure que le gouvernement fédéral faisait en vue de fournir une aide financière à l'enseignement, il était évident qu'elles ne réuniraient le nombre de voix suffisant pour être adoptées que si elles étaient largement soutenues dans tous les états et dans tous les milieux intéressés à l'enseignement. C'est donc à juste titre que le législateur a imposé une base de calcul pour l'allocation de fonds qui totalisent des sommes si massives.

Les bourses BEOG, au contraire, devaient fournir une aide financière directe à des particuliers afin qu'ils puissent entreprendre librement des études dans un établissement de leur choix. Elles ne devaient pas nécessairement procurer une aide directe aux établissements d'enseignement supérieur. Il était donc à la fois indiqué et rationnel du point de vie administratif que le gouvernement fédéral versât directement les bourses aux étudiants bénéficiaires.

L'enseignement post-secondaire aux Etats-Unis comprend de nombreux types d'établissements et structures d'administration. Le système d'enseignement supérieur n'est ni organisé à l'échelle nationale, ni géré par l'administration centrale. Dans chaque état, le dosage des établissements publics et privés varie, de même que varie l'assortiment des écoles d'enseignement théorique, technique, professionnel et des petits centres de formation privés (proprietary schools).

Attributions administratives

Dans les cas où le gouvernement fédéral est en relations directes avec le bénéficiaire, que celui-ci soit une autorité locale ou un établissement d'enseignement, l'administration de l'état dont dépend l'enseignement ou tout autre organisme de l'état peut ou non assumer une part de l'administration du programme. Pour le programme "Head Start", le gouverneur de l'état peut demander, s'il le souhaite, à examiner les demandes en provenance de son état, mais les organismes de l'état n'interviennent pas dans la procédure suivie pour l'octroi de l'aide

Pour les principaux programmes mis en oeuvre par l'administration d'un état, les attributions sont réparties en fonction de la nature du programme considéré. C'est ainsi que la collaboration qui s'est établie entre le gouvernement fédéral, l'état et les autorités locales pour l'administration des services fournis en vertu du Titre I de l'ESEA a fait l'objet d'examens et de définitions nouvelles au cours des années, à mesure que les attributions de divers organes et leurs relations devenaient plus claires.

Titre I : Attributions fédérales. En plus du versement des fonds approuvés, le "Federal Program Office" a pour tâche : 1) d'édicter et de publier des règlements, des directives et tous les autres textes nécessaires à l'administration des services dispensés en vertu du Titre I de la loi ESEA ; 2) de fournir une assistance technique aux autorités scolaires de l'état et de suivre régulièrement les pratiques qu'elles appliquent ; 3) d'évaluer les résultats et l'efficacité du programme ; 4) de rassembler des données budgétaires, des indications sur le champ couvert par les programmes et tous les renseignements utiles pour l'évaluation ; enfin, 5) de présenter au Congrès un rapport annuel sur les résultats obtenus.

Titre I : Attributions des états. Les autorités scolaires des états versent aux circonscriptions scolaires les fonds prévus au Titre I et doivent donner au gouvernement fédéral l'assurance que les programmes seront administrés conformément à la loi et aux règlements. Elles sont tenues de lui soumettre des rapports budgétaires et des rapports d'évaluation. En plus du versement des fonds et de la présentation de ces rapports, les autorités scolaires des états doivent : 1) examiner les projets à financer en vertu de l'un des programmes fédéraux qui leur sont soumis par les autorités scolaires locales de leur ressort, les approuver ou les rejeter ; 2) fournir une assistance technique aux autorités scolaires locales ; et 3) suivre régulièrement les pratiques qu'elles appliquent.

Titre I : Attributions des autorités scolaires locales. Dans l'exécution des activités inscrites aux programmes, il appartient aux autorités scolaires locales : 1) d'identifier les régions qui ont besoin d'une aide et d'élaborer des projets afin que les ressources disponibles soient utilisées pour remédier à des besoins identifiés ; 2) d'encourager les parents à participer à l'exécution des projets ; et 3) de dispenser des services aux élèves des écoles privées. En outre, les autorités scolaires locales doivent soumettre aux autorités scolaires de l'état dont elles dépendent : 1) une demande dans laquelle elles décriront la nature des projets qu'elles envisagent, les raisons pour lesquelles ils ont été élaborés et le nombre d'élèves qui devront en bénéficier ; 2) un rapport budgétaire sur l'utilisation des fonds et sur les élèves qui ont bénéficié des services ; enfin, 3) un rapport d'évaluation dans lequel elles exposeront les avantages que ces services ont procurés aux bénéficiaires.

Tout comme les activités menées en vertu du Titre I de l'ESEA, les Programmes de formation professionnelle (y compris les fonds réservés spécialement aux élèves défavorisés et les programmes spéciaux de portée plus réduite pour les étudiants défavorisés) sont administrés aux trois niveaux de la hiérarchie gouvernementale. Cependant, les états ont une latitude plus grande pour la répartition des fonds et l'administration générale dans le cas des programmes de formation professionnelle que dans celui des activités entreprises en application du Titre I de l'ESEA. Les autorités de l'état répartissent les fonds destinés aux élèves défavorisés après examen des demandes que leur soumettent les autorités scolaires locales. Comme ces fonds ne sont pas alloués à toutes les autorités scolaires locales d'un état, ni même à la plupart d'entre elles, il est normal que le gouvernement laisse plus de liberté à l'état pour l'évaluation des programmes, les décisions à prendre, l'assistance technique et la supervision, que dans le cas des services fournis en application du Titre I de l'ESEA.

Les projets entrepris en vertu des programmes du "Teacher Corps" doivent se conformer aux lois, règlements et dispositions en vigueur dans chaque état, de sorte que l'adoption des mesures nécessaires d'entente avec les autorités scolaires des états occupe une place importante dans les procédures relatives à l'octroi de cette aide. Les autorités scolaires des états peuvent aussi être associées à des projets réalisés au titre d'un programme du "Teacher Corps", auquel cas le gouvernement fédéral peut leur allouer directement un subside distinct. Toutefois, en règle générale, l'élaboration et l'exécution des projets entrepris au titre des programmes du "Teacher Corps" relèvent essentiellement des autorités scolaires locales et de l'établissement d'enseignement supérieur intéressé. Les autorités fédérales se contentent d'approuver ou de rejeter la demande conformément aux critères imposés et de superviser directement la réalisation du projet.

Résumé : Problèmes de gestion

Le gouvernement fédéral a eu pour principe, aussi bien dans l'élaboration que dans l'exécution de ses programmes pour les élèves défavorisés, de les limiter rigoureusement à une seule catégorie de bénéficiaires. Pour chaque besoin d'instruction qui avait été identifié, il élaborait un programme distinct de nature à répondre équitablement au besoin en cause tout en demeurant rigoureusement dans les limites étroites du problème qui se posait. Les dispositions financières, les démarches administratives, les conditions à remplir par les candidats et les organismes qui devaient fournir le service étaient déterminés pour chaque programme par voie législative ou réglementaire. Dans le souci de maintenir un contrôle budgétaire suffisant, le gouvernement fédéral a été obligé de créer un appareil administratif fort compliqué. En effet, pour chacun des programmes étudiés ici, il a institué un appareil administratif distinct qui va du gouvernement fédéral au fournisseur local des services, ainsi qu'une procédure spéciale pour les rapports que les exécutants sont tenus de lui soumettre sur leur gestion budgétaire et sur la réalisation du programme.

L'IMPACT DES POLITIQUES FEDERALES

Les programmes fédéraux pour l'éducation des défavorisés ont pour but d'égaliser les chances d'accès à l'enseignement. Par la même occasion et dans un contexte plus large, ils servent la cause de l'égalité socio-économique. Mais si les spécialistes de l'enseignement dans leur ensemble souscrivent bien volontiers à ces objectifs, ils n'en ont pas encore pour autant réussi à se mettre d'accord sur la signification exacte de l'expression "égalité des chances devant l'enseignement".

En règle générale, il y a place, dans toute définition de l'égalité des chances devant l'enseignement, pour deux grandes interprétations :

(1) L'égalité des facteurs contributifs, mesurée pour une très grande part en fonction de l'ampleur des dépenses engagées par étudiant ou de l'égalité de choix entre les possibilités offertes.

(2) L'égalité des résultats, c'est-à-dire que tous les individus devraient acquérir un minimum de connaissances communes ou atteindre un niveau minimum de qualification ; ou que l'égalité des chances est réalisée en cas de succès scolaire que ni la situation socio-économique de l'intéressé, ni sa race, ni les autres facteurs environnementaux et sociaux ne permettaient d'escompter. Il y aurait alors des différences entre les individus, mais les différences entre les groupes s'estomperaient.

Les programmes, aux Etats-Unis, ont toujours semblé motivés par une double préoccupation : ils cherchent à élargir l'accès aux ressources et possibilités d'enseignement, tout en améliorant la qualité des services éducatifs de façon à les faire correspondre aux besoins particuliers des élèves et étudiants appartenant à des groupes défavorisés. Ces programmes semblent inspirés à la fois par le principe de l'égalité des chances et par celui de la garantie d'accès et de la qualité.

Il est sans doute impossible de faire le bilan général des résultats obtenus, mais il est permis de formuler un certain nombre de remarques à propos des deux interprétations fondamentales de l'égalité des chances devant l'enseignement, celle qui vise à assurer l'accès à l'enseignement et la qualité des résultats et celle qui a pour but l'amélioration générale de la situation des catégories défavorisées. Certains indicateurs statistiques généraux du progrès de l'enseignement aux Etats-Unis ces dernières années montrent bien que des progrès ont été réalisés dans ces domaines et qu'ils sont conformes aux objectifs des politiques fédérales, sans que l'on puisse toutefois affirmer l'existence d'une relation directe de cause à effet. L'analyse des résultats obtenus grâce aux efforts du gouvernement fédéral appelle deux questions :

(1) Les politiques et les programmes ont-ils contribué à l'égalité des chances, en égalisant l'accès aux moyens d'enseignement ? En d'autres termes, l'usage fait des fonds fédéraux a-t-il un effet de redistribution, égalisateur et complémentaire ? Les programmes atteignent-ils bien les personnes visées et la prestation de services correspond-elle vraiment aux intentions ?

(2) Ces contributions ont-elles un effet positif sur les bénéficiaires ? De quels résultats peut-on faire état en ce qui concerne les effets immédiats et à long terme des programmes sur les bénéficiaires, et en particulier en ce qui concerne l'élimination des disparités entre les groupes ?

EFFETS DISTRIBUTIFS ET FINANCIERS DE L'AIDE FEDERALE

Si l'on considère l'ensemble des sources de l'aide fédérale à l'enseignement primaire, secondaire et post-secondaire, on constate que les grosses dépenses sont celles qui correspondent aux programmes visant à promouvoir l'égalité des chances devant l'éducation. Dans l'évaluation des effets distributifs et financiers de cette aide fédérale, on fait la distinction entre l'aide à l'enseignement primaire et secondaire qui est surtout accordée à des établissements, et l'aide au secteur post-secondaire, qui a un caractère essentiellement individuel.

Aide à l'enseignement primaire et secondaire

Dans le domaine de l'enseignement primaire et secondaire, on distingue trois types de conséquences financières des programmes fédéraux :

(1) Egalisation - mesure dans laquelle les programmes fédéraux fournissent davantage d'argent aux localités dont les dépenses d'enseignement restent faibles qu'à celles où l'investissement par élève est élevé.

(2) Redistribution - mesure dans laquelle les programmes fédéraux octroient l'argent aux régions où il existe un grand nombre de familles à faible revenu.

(3) Augmentation des dépenses locales d'enseignement - mesure dans laquelle les programmes fédéraux augmentent le nombre total de dollars que les autorités locales de l'éducation dépensent pour les enfants désignés comme bénéficiaires des services de l'aide fédérale.

Egalisation. En 1975-76, le gouvernement fédéral a fourni environ 8,8 % des ressources financières dont disposaient, par élève, les établissements d'enseignement primaire et secondaire. La part de cette contribution varie toutefois beaucoup entre les 50 états et les territoires extérieurs. Dans trois états, et dans le District de Columbia, la part du gouvernement fédéral représente plus de 20 % des ressources moyennes par élève. L'effet redistributif de l'aide fédérale aux états n'est pas toujours directement lié au taux de pauvreté, bien que celui-ci puisse fortement influer sur la quantité d'aide fédérale que l'état reçoit. L'aide fédérale est, par ailleurs, également fonction de l'ampleur des efforts déployés par l'état lui-même. D'une façon générale, les crédits ainsi octroyés par le gouvernement fédéral ont pour effet de réduire les disparités entre états, étant donné que les états les plus pauvres sont d'ordinaire ceux qui reçoivent la part la plus importante (Tableau 10.1, page 131).

Un indicateur encore plus frappant de la structure d'ensemble des dépenses fédérales est fourni par les programmes spécialement mis au point par le gouvernement pour les régions qui ont un pourcentage élevé d'enfants pauvres. Entre 1968 et 1975, l'aide fédérale a considérablement accru les ressources mises à la disposition des systèmes scolaires des grandes villes, grâce à des crédits octroyés en vertu du Titre I de l'ESEA et du Programme de repas scolaires (School Lunch Program). Ainsi, en 1968, seulement 18 % des établissements scolaires des grandes villes recevaient de l'état une contribution égale ou supérieure à la moyenne pour leur état respectif ; en 1975, 86 % des écoles des grandes villes recevaient du gouvernement fédéral une contribution dont le montant égalait ou dépassait la contribution moyenne par élève que le gouvernement mettait à la disposition de l'état. Pendant cette même période, les contributions de l'état ont augmenté, portant à 50 % le nombre des circonscriptions scolaires recevant des ressources par élève égales ou supérieures à la moyenne pour leur état respectif. Cette augmentation des dépenses du gouvernement fédéral et des états visait à augmenter l'égalité des chances devant l'enseignement dans des régions où le produit de l'impôt était particulièrement réduit et le nombre de familles pauvres particulièrement élevé (Graphique 10.2, page 132).

Dans une étude récente sur l'enseignement de soutien, le National Institute of Education (NIE) a analysé les effets égalisateurs de plusieurs sources d'aide fédérale et, en particulier, du Titre I de l'ESEA. Les résultats auxquels a abouti cette étude donnent à penser que le Titre I, de même que d'autres sources d'aide fédérale, n'est effectivement pas sans avoir quelque effet égalisateur, mais qu'aucune ne compense aussi efficacement l'inégalité des dépenses des états et des collectivités locales que la redistribution de ressources aux régions à forte concentration d'enfants pauvres.

Effets de redistribution. L'étude récente du NIE a également examiné les effets de redistribution de l'aide fédérale à l'enseignement primaire et secondaire. Le Titre I étant le programme le plus vaste et le plus complet mis au point par les autorités fédérales à l'intention des enfants défavorisés de l'école primaire et secondaire, ses effets de redistribution sont particulièrement importants. Les données récentes recueillies par le NIE permettaient de penser que le Titre I réussissait à orienter les fonds vers les régions où vivaient de nombreux enfants de familles pauvres et allouait aux circonscriptions où le taux de pauvreté était particulièrement élevé, une aide supérieure de plus de cinq fois et demie à l'aide accordée aux circonsriptions où ce taux est le plus bas. Pour les autres programmes fédéraux, cette différence n'est que de trois fois et demie.

Augmentation des dépenses totales d'enseignement. Le NIE a également procédé à une étude économétrique des répercussions du Titre I sur les dépenses locales d'enseignement afin d'évaluer dans quelle mesure le programme réussissait à fournir des ressources supplémentaires au bénéfice des enfants défavorisés. Les résultats donnent à penser que chaque dollar supplémentaire de l'aide consentie en vertu du Titre I se traduit par une augmentation de 72 "cents" des dépenses locales d'enseignement. Les 28 cents restants correspondent à des dégrèvements d'impôts ou permettent aux autorités d'intensifier d'autres formes de financement public. En comparaison, les autres aides fédérales, parmi lesquelles un certain nombre de programmes ayant des structures de financement extrêmement variées, augmentent les dépenses totales de 41 cents par dollar.

L'analyse qui a abouti à ces conclusions comparait la structure des dépenses de circonscriptions analogues dans des états différents. Cette analyse a été possible parce que les subventions du Titre I aux circonscriptions scolaires sont basées non seulement sur le nombre des enfants pouvant prétendre au bénéfice du programme dans la circonscription, mais aussi sur la moyenne des dépenses par élève dans l'état où elle se trouve. Des circonscriptions analogues ou même identiques dans des états différents peuvent donc recevoir des subventions différentes du Titre I.

Néanmoins, le fait même que les subventions du Titre I soient plus élevées dans les états où la moyenne des dépenses est élevée rend l'analyse plus complexe, car ces états sont précisément ceux dans lesquels des circonscriptions sont disposées à sacrifier une grosse part de leurs recettes fiscales à l'enseignement, et d'y consacrer des crédits importants, quelle que soit leur source. Il est impossible de faire le départ exact entre les effets du financement du Titre I et les effets des différences entre états.

Lorsque l'on a procédé à de nouvelles analyses, en tenant compte de variations possibles entre états, le chiffre, pour le Titre I, est retombé à 57 cents par dollar. Par conséquent, s'il est impossible de déterminer l'incidence exacte de l'aide financière relevant du Titre I, il est clair néanmoins que les deux tiers environ de cette aide ont servi à financer des dépenses supplémentaires. C'est là naturellement un chiffre moyen et il est presque certain que les effets varient selon le type de circonscription.

Structure de l'aide fédérale à l'enseignement supérieur

D'importants changements se sont manifestés ces dernières années dans l'aide fédérale à l'enseignement supérieur (Graphique 10.3, page 134). Les dépenses fédérales pour l'enseignement supérieur étaient estimées en 1977 à un total de 9,5 milliards de dollars, soit une augmentation de 7,4 milliards de dollars depuis 1967, avec une légère diminution toutefois à partir de 1976, année où ces dépenses ont atteint leur maximum. Au cours des dix dernières années, la répartition de l'aide s'est nettement modifiée. En 1967, 48 % environ du total des dépenses fédérales allaient aux étudiants. En 1977, ce pourcentage avait atteint près de 83 %. L'aide aux établissements d'enseignement, en revanche, a diminué, passant de 50 % environ du total des dépenses fédérales pour l'enseignement supérieur en 1967 à 17 % environ en 1977. L'accroissement spectaculaire du volume d'aide fédérale aux étudiants au détriment des établissements d'enseignement s'explique par le désir des autorités fédérales d'éliminer directement les obstacles financiers qui interdisent aux étudiants le libre choix d'un établissement d'enseignement supérieur.

L'aide aux individus : effets de redistribution

De même que les autres programmes fédéraux d'aide aux étudiants, le Programme BEOG (Basic Educational Opportunity Grant) a un effet fortement redistributif. Bien que les étudiants peu fortunés aient été les principaux bénéficiaires du Programme BEOG, sur l'ensemble des étudiants de première année, en 1977, 33 % avaient reçu une bourse au titre de ce programme (Graphique 10.4, page 135). Le montant de l'aide fédérale est inversement proportionnel aux revenus de la famille de l'étudiant. Ceux dont les parents ont un revenu annuel inférieur à 7.500 dollars représentent environ 33 % de l'ensemble des bénéficiaires de l'aide, tandis que ceux dont la famille a un revenu égal ou supérieur à 15.000 dollars ne représentent que 9 % des étudiants assistés. Les étudiants indépendants, dans le premier ou le deuxième cycle, représentent 28 % du nombre total d'étudiants recevant une aide. Le type d'aide que reçoivent les étudiants est également fonction du niveau de revenu de leur famille. Les bourses du BEOG sont généralement attribuées à des étudiants dont les parents ont des ressources inférieures à 7.500 dollars, tandis que les Guaranteed Student Loans (GSL) vont de préférence aux étudiants appartenant à des familles dont le revenu est égal ou supérieur à 15.000 dollars ou à des étudiants indépendants. Les autres types d'aide s'adressent de préférence aux étudiants dont les parents gagnent moins de 7.500 dollars.

La composition des enveloppes d'aide (bourses fédérales, emplois spéciaux rémunérés, prêts, revenus de transfert comme les prestations de sécurité sociale, ou allocations d'origine autre que fédérale) a beaucoup varié chez les étudiants à plein temps de première année en 1972-73, comme l'a montré la National Longitudinal Study (NLS) of the High School Class of 1972 (Tableau 10.7). Le montant de l'aide totale et fédérale reçue était inversement proportionnel au revenu de la famille de l'étudiant. Chez les étudiants peu fortunés bénéficiaires d'une aide, par exemple, la part de l'assistance d'origine fédérale était d'environ 61 %. Chez les étudiants appartenant à des familles à revenus plus élevés, cette part était de 42 % environ. L'aide d'origine autre que fédérale, d'autre part, s'accroissait légèrement à mesure qu'augmentait le revenu familial. La composition des enveloppes d'aide a également varié selon le niveau d'aptitude de l'étudiant. Alors que l'aide totale était en rapport avec le groupe de niveau de l'étudiant, l'aide fédérale, en termes absolus comme en termes relatifs, était inversement proportionnelle à la capacité de l'étudiant. Parmi les étudiants appartenant à des groupes raciaux et ethniques défavorisés, ce sont les étudiants noirs qui ont été les principaux bénéficiaires de l'aide totale et fédérale. Les aides aux étudiants différaient également dans leur composition selon le caractère public ou privé de l'établissement d'enseignement fréquenté. Si les étudiants d'établissements publics recevaient proportionnellement davantage d'aide de source fédérale, les étudiants d'établissements privés recevaient, en revanche, davantage de dollars de l'aide fédérale.

L'analyse des effectifs des établissements d'enseignement supérieur par groupe socio-économique, ethnique et linguistique peut également faire ressortir certains des effets redistributifs de la politique fédérale de l'éducation. Si les obstacles économiques à l'accès à l'enseignement supérieur n'ont pas été totalement éliminés, un pourcentage notable d'individus provenant de familles dont le revenu est inférieur à 5.000 dollars est néanmoins inscrit dans l'enseignement post-secondaire. En moyenne, 28 % des jeunes de race blanche appartenant à des familles dont le revenu est inférieur à 5.000 dollars font des études supérieures. Le Graphique 10.6, page 139, illustre certaines des variations constatées entre les minorités ethniques et linguistiques et la population de race blanche. En général, la proportion d'individus de race blanche classés dans cette tranche de revenus qui poursuivent leurs études est supérieure à celle des individus de race noire ou des hispano-américains. Mais dans les deux tranches de revenus suivantes (5.000 à 9.999 dollars et 10.000 à 14.999 dollars), le taux des inscriptions est plus élevé chez les noirs que chez les blancs.

Les fonds parviennent-ils vraiment à leurs destinataires ?

Ce qui précède donne à penser que les fonds fédéraux ont, d'une façon générale, un effet de redistribution ; toutefois, certains programmes sont plus redistributifs que d'autres. La deuxième question qui se pose est de savoir si les fonds parviennent bien aux catégories d'individus répondant aux conditions voulues pour bénéficier d'une aide ou appartenant aux catégories "défavorisées", telles qu'elles sont définies dans les divers programmes. Des évaluations récentes des programmes font apparaître que les fonds atteignent bien, en général, la destination qui leur a été assignée par le Congrès. Dans le programme "Head Start", par exemple, des données récentes montrent que l'on est raisonnablement près d'atteindre l'objectif visé, c'est-à-dire à avoir 90 % des participants appartenant à des familles pauvres. En ce qui concerne les fonds du Titre I il semblerait que, dans les établissements bénéficiaires, les services aient été moyennement bien orientés vers les enfants que l'on pouvait considérer comme ayant besoin d'une aide en raison de la faiblesse de leurs résultats scolaires, mais aussi de la situation financière modeste de leur famille.

Il est difficile de savoir exactement dans quelle mesure chacun des programmes parvient aux résultats voulus à cet égard, et cela pour plusieurs raisons : premièrement, parce que, dans certains cas, la question peut ne pas avoir été abordée dans les études d'évaluation d'un programme donné ; deuxièmement, parce que la politique suivie en matière de répartition des fonds et le cadre juridique peuvent ne pas se prêter à la détermination des individus à aider, comme c'est le cas, par exemple, pour le programme EOC (Educational Opportunity Centers) qui dessert des régions entières à faible revenu ; enfin, parce que les critères de sélection des bénéficiaires éventuels peuvent manquer de clarté ou inclure de nombreuses caractéristiques équivoques de sorte qu'il n'est pas possible de désigner avec précision les candidats répondant aux conditions requises.

Les services sont-ils conformes aux prévisions ?

A l'échelle nationale, les principaux efforts entrepris sur le plan de l'enseignement de soutien (Head Start, Title I, Upward Bound) permettent d'assurer des services pédagogiques précis ainsi que d'importants services annexes. D'après de récentes études d'évaluation des programmes, il apparaît que les services propres à un programme ou les services supplémentaires atteignent les bénéficiaires visés. La conception de chacun des programme étant quelque peu différente, le dosage de services éducatifs et de services annexes peut également quelque peu différer. Le Titre I par exemple est fortement axé sur l'acquisition des mécanismes de base dans le domaine de la lecture et du calcul et plus de 75 % de son budget est consacré à rémunérer ce type de services. Le programme "Head Start" vise une prestation globale de services dans lesquels entrent l'éducation, la santé, la nutrition, etc. Le programme "Upward Bound", quant à lui, associe des programmes directs d'enseignement à une approche plus polyvalente pendant les mois d'été. Le Programme de formation professionnelle permet l'acquisition de qualifications tout en dispensant un enseignement de rattrapage. Le programme Teacher Corps, enfin, offre diverses possibilités de formation à des stagiaires, des enseignants en exercice et des enfants scolarisés.

Si les résultats sont généralement positifs pour l'ensemble des programmes à l'échelle nationale, la qualité, l'intensité et l'adéquation des services ne sont pas toujours égales d'un état à l'autre, ni à l'intérieur d'un même état. Le NIE a remarqué par exemple qu'il existait, entre les programmes d'enseignement de soutien des diverses circonscriptions scolaires, des variations étroitement liées aux montants des subventions du Titre I dans la circonscription et aux types de personnel visés. On constate également des différences, selon la circonscription, dans les normes et les méthodes utilisées pour mesurer les besoins d'enseignement des enfants, ainsi que dans la sélection des mécanismes de prestation des services, telle la pratique qui consiste à retirer les enfants des classes pour les faire bénéficier d'un enseignement de soutien spécial.

EFFETS SUR LES PARTICIPANTS

Dans l'évaluation des incidences des programmes fédéraux sur les participants, on s'est beaucoup préoccupé dernièrement de la distinction à faire entre les effets à court terme et les effets à long terme de ces programmes. Cette distinction peut être plus importante, lorsqu'il s'agit de programmes visant les très jeunes enfants, comme le programme "Head Start" et le Titre I, que pour les programmes qui concernent les études secondaires et post-secondaires et dont les objectifs sont plus étroitement liés à des objectifs ultimes et à court terme, à savoir comment présenter sa candidature et être admis dans un établissement d'enseignement post-secondaire ou comment arriver jusqu'au bout d'un cycle normal d'enseignement professionnel. De toute évidence, on attend de tous les programmes qu'ils aient un certain nombre d'effets durables sur leurs bénéficiaires, étant donné que tous ont pour but d'aider les individus défavorisés en leur offrant des conditions de plus grande égalité sociale et économique.

Les effets à long terme

Il a été difficile de mesurer les effets à long terme des programmes d'intervention précoce en raison de l'absence de données empiriques suivant systématiquement la progression de l'enfant, une fois le programme terminé. Les premières études consacrées aux effets du programme ont également eu à pâtir de nombreux problèmes méthodologiques, car elles utilisaient souvent des données transversales, omettaient de faire la distinction entre participants et non-participants et ne prenaient en compte que la mesure d'un seul aspect de l'évolution des élèves bénéficiaires (modification du quotient intellectuel, par exemple).

Plusieurs études sont actuellement entreprises afin d'évaluer la persistance des effets de la participation aux programmes d'intervention dès le plus jeune âge ; elles permettront d'obtenir des réponses plus sûres quant aux effets à long terme des programmes. Grâce à la mise en commun des sources de données, à l'utilisation de techniques d'analyse identiques, à l'étude de l'écologie globale du développement de l'enfant (dans l'environnement scolaire et à l'extérieur) et au recours à d'autres mesures de la réussite, comme le pourcentage des participants qui redoublent et de ceux qui passent dans la classe supérieure, ou de ceux qui sont placés dans des classes spéciales de rattrapage, les chercheurs espèrent pouvoir évaluer de façon plus réaliste les effets à long terme de ces programmes.

Une importante étude des effets à long terme du Titre I de l'ESEA est en cours et les premiers résultats auraient dû être disponibles en 1979. Cette étude suivra pendant trois ans les participants au programme, en mesurant les résultats obtenus avant et après. Entre-temps, l'appréciation des effets à long terme devrait être faite avec toutes les réserves voulues.

Les effets immédiats

Head Start. L'étude des effets immédiats des programmes d'intervention dans la prime enfance autorise l'optimisme. Il est raisonnablement prouvé, dans les études consacrées jusqu'ici à la question, que la participation au programme Head Start contribue à préparer l'enfant à l'école primaire, favorise le développement intellectuel et améliore les premiers résultats. Sur le plan affectif, individuel ou social, les enfants se développent mieux. Les recherches montrent que les parents peuvent apporter une contribution tout à fait appréciable au développement général de leurs enfants s'ils participent au processus éducatif. Les résultats de l'évaluation du programme Head Start donnent à penser que ce programme, en fait, encourage et favorise cette participation des parents.

Titre I. Les résultats de recherches récentes permettent de penser que le programme du Titre I peut apparemment n'être pas sans effet sur les résultats scolaires des enfants. Dans des programmes bien conçus et stables en particulier, de nets progrès ont été réalisés par les élèves en cours d'année.

La politique dont s'inspire le Titre I et qui consiste à fournir des services spéciaux d'enseignement aux défavorisés peut également avoir eu sur l'environnement de l'apprentissage, en général, des répercussions qui échappent à l'observation. Une nouvelle étude des statistiques nationales sur les résultats des tests permet de se faire une idée de certains des effets d'ensemble du Titre I. L'intérêt de ces données recueillies à l'échelle de la nation tout entière est évident, car le Titre I est un programme national, mis en oeuvre dans 14.000 des 16.000 circonscriptions scolaires que compte le pays, et desservant actuellement quelque 6 millions d'enfants chaque année. Les bénéficiaires du programme étant, en très grande majorité, des élèves des classes qui vont de la première à la sixième année d'études, les renseignements concernant ces classes sont particulièrement intéressants.

Les faits rapportés dans différentes études montrent qu'en moyenne les notes en lecture ont augmenté pour les élèves en seconde, troisième et quatrième années de scolarité. En revanche, dans les classes suivantes, les résultats ont diminué. Cette régression commence à se faire sentir à peu près au niveau de la cinquième année d'études et semble s'accentuer pendant les études dans le second degré. L'exemple le plus frappant de ce phénomène est fourni par le Scholastic Aptitude Test, dont le déclin des résultats s'explique, en partie, par des modifications survenues dans la "clientèle" des établissements d'enseignement secondaire, mais aussi sans doute par l'évolution de ces établissements et de la société elle-même.

L'enseignement professionnel. La mesure du degré de succès des programmes d'enseignement professionnel (Vocational Education) des défavorisés est une opération complexe en raison de la plus grande diversité des objectifs des projets au niveau des états et des autorités locales. Il semblerait que le programme ait été couronné de succès, puisque 83 % des jeunes bénéficiaires sont allés jusqu'au bout des programmes gérés par les autorités locales. Les impressions des bénéficiaires et celles des employeurs des jeunes ainsi formés peuvent également donner une idée des effets du programme. Elèves et employeurs estiment que le programme augmente les possibilités d'emploi et améliore les qualifications des bénéficiaires.

L'accès à l'enseignement post-secondaire. Les Special Programs for Disadvantaged Students (SPDS) (Programmes spéciaux à l'intention des étudiants défavorisés) sont au nombre de quatre programmes distincts et les résultats de l'évaluation reflètent leurs objectifs divers. La fréquence des inscriptions dans l'enseignement post-secondaire est un indicateur du succès du programme "Upward Bound". Ce programme contribue à augmenter de plus de 18 % le taux des passages dans l'enseignement post-secondaire, ce qui correspond à un gain appréciable par rapport à un groupe témoin d'élèves ayant de nombreuses caractéristiques communes avec le groupe visé par le programme "Upward Bound". Les jeunes de ce dernier groupe choisissent généralement d'entrer dans un établissement dispensant quatre années d'études (four-year college) et réussissent d'ordinaire plus facilement à obtenir des "enveloppes" d'aide financière intéressantes. Le programme "Talent Search" sert à repérer les jeunes défavorisés qui ont des chances de réussir s'ils poursuivent leurs études dans un "college" ; une évaluation effectuée en 1972 permet de penser que 75 % des jeunes qui ont déclaré vouloir poursuivre leurs études dans l'un de ces établissements donnent suite à leur projet (selon les dires des responsables locaux).

Les effets à long terme de l'aide aux étudiants. Bien que le taux d'inscription des étudiants appartenant à divers groupes socio-économiques, ethniques et raciaux puisse être affecté par la politique d'aide financière, cette politique en elle-même n'a pas toujours de rapport direct avec le degré de persévérance des étudiants. On ne dispose d'aucun renseignement sur le nombre des étudiants appartenant à des catégories socio-économiques défavorisées qui vont jusqu'au bout de leurs études. Mais on possède certains renseignements concernant le nombre des étudiants appartenant à des groupes minoritaires qui sont parvenus à la fin de leurs études en 1975-76 et, dans la mesure où le groupe minoritaire est également un groupe à faible revenu, on peut trouver dans ces chiffres quelque indication des résultats obtenus. En 1976, près de 88 % des diplômes de "bachelor" ont été attribués à des blancs, le pourcentage des diplômés chez les noirs et les autres groupes minoritaires n'étant que de 10,8 %.

D'un autre côté, on sait que la distribution d'aides financières a un effet positif sur l'achèvement des études (Tableau 10.7, page 144). D'après les renseignements recueillis grâce à la National Longitudinal Study, il semblerait que les étudiants bénéficiaires d'aides financières aient été plus nombreux à aller jusqu'au bout de leurs études que ceux qui n'avaient reçu aucune aide.

En outre, l'aide financière a eu un effet positif sur les résultats scolaires en général. Les jeunes bénéficiaires ont davantage de chances d'entrer dans un établissement dont le cycle d'études est de quatre ans et aussi davantage de chances de poursuivre leurs études après le premier grade universitaire. L'aide a pour effet positif de dissuader les jeunes d'abandonner leurs études avant la fin du programme (Graphique 10.8, page 145).

Teacher Corps. Le programme Teacher Corps visant à la fois les individus et le système éducatif, l'évaluation de ses effets sur les participants est complexe. Dans la mesure où la première phase du programme a encouragé les individus fortement motivés à se lancer dans la carrière de l'enseignement et à s'occuper d'enfants défavorisés, on peut dire que le programme a été une réussite. Dans cette phase du programme, les collectivités, les circonscriptions scolaires et les établissements d'enseignement supérieur ont effectivement collaboré à élaborer et à mettre en oeuvre les programmes. L'évaluation à long terme de cette première phase exigerait des précisions sur la situation actuelle des enseignants et leur efficacité en salle de classe. De même, des recherches supplémentaires s'imposent si l'on veut déterminer l'ampleur des changements systématiques qui ont marqué cette période.

CONCLUSIONS

Les objectifs des programmes examinés dans le présent rapport sont généralement à court terme. Des données récentes sembleraient justifier un optimisme prudent et permettre de croire que la plupart de ces programmes commencent à atteindre le but à court terme qu'ils visent pour leurs jeunes bénéficiaires. En ce qui concerne les programmes plus particulièrement axés sur les services d'enseignement (comme ceux du Titre I), des données, également récentes, montrent des différences de qualité d'un programme à l'autre et à l'intérieur même des programmes. La mesure dans laquelle on parvient à atteindre les buts à long terme implicites (ou parfois explicites) est plus difficile à déterminer, faute de données empiriques notamment. Aussi, bien qu'il y ait quelques raisons de la considérer avec optimisme, la série actuelle de programmes est loin d'être idéale. Il faut encore entreprendre la tâche de faire de tous les programmes de soutien un tout cohérent.

Cet examen de l'efficacité des mesures prises par les autorités fédérales à l'intention des défavorisés est forcément incomplet. Les évaluations des programmes ne permettent pas de se faire une idée correcte de l'effet général de ces mesures car les efforts et les ressources actuels sont davantage axés vers des études programme par programme dont la portée, naturellement, ne peut être que limitée. Par ailleurs, les évaluations actuelles ne sont pas conçues de manière à tenir compte des changements survenus dans l'attitude du public au cours des dix dernières années ou à mesurer le rôle du gouvernement fédéral dans l'information des états, des autorités locales et des responsables des campus universitaires et dans leur sensibilisation aux besoins particuliers des jeunes défavorisés. Mais si ces dernières conséquences de la politique fédérale sont peut-être impossibles à quantifier, elles n'en ont pas moins été notées dans des publications universitaires ou autres consacrées à la question. Les autorités fédérales ont contribué de façon décisive à renverser une situation qui existait depuis toujours et dans laquelle les élèves les plus défavorisés étaient également les plus mal servis par le système éducatif.

LES PROBLEMES ACTUELS

INTRODUCTION

Au cours des dix à quinze dernières années, la mise au point et le perfectionnement des mesures d'enseignement pour les groupes défavorisés ne se sont pas conformés à une ligne directrice suivie. Le Congrès en a adopté, avec les programmes d'application correspondants, chaque fois que le gouvernement fédéral décelait les besoins des personnes intéressées, que les groupes d'intérêt exerçaient des pressions ou bien que la situation se révélait grave du point de vue national. Lorsque ces programmes étaient lancés, des groupes d'intérêt (composés des bénéficiaires des services et des administrateurs à tous les niveaux) se créaient et acquéraient un pouvoir suffisant pour obtenir que ces dispositions deviennent plus ou moins permanentes. Au lieu de supprimer certains programmes existants et d'en renforcer d'autres, on a eu tendance à en créer de nouveaux chaque fois que de nouveaux besoins étaient identifiés.

On s'interroge de plus en plus sur l'efficacité des programmes dans leur ensemble et le manque apparent de coordination et d'harmonisation entre eux commence à susciter des inquiétudes. Certains programmes visent des objectifs, des tranches d'âge ou des groupes identiques, de sorte qu'ils font double emploi ; d'autres se fondent sur des critères contradictoires ou incompatibles entre eux ; enfin, l'inégalité de la répartition des ressources et du champ couvert par les mesures a pour effet de créer des lacunes dans l'ensemble de cette action. Les fonctionnaires des états et les autorités locales se plaignent de la multitude des réglementations édictées par l'administration fédérale et des innombrables démarches administratives qu'ils doivent entreprendre pour obtenir des fonds fédéraux. Les évaluations ont révélé que l'interprétation des objectifs des programmes et des mesures variait à l'échelon local.

Un examen général des programmes en vigueur serait utile à trois titres différents. Il pourrait 1) jeter les bases d'une redéfinition du rôle qui devrait incomber au gouvernement fédéral dans l'enseignement, 2) ouvrir la voie à certaines réformes destinées à rendre les réalisations plus conformes aux priorités du moment, et 3) contribuer à l'identification des domaines ou des groupes encore négligés mais qui réclament des initiatives complémentaires.

Le nombre des programmes fédéraux s'étant accru, il règne souvent une certaine confusion quant à leurs buts fondamentaux. De nombreux programmes fédéraux s'appliquent encore actuellement, à partir d'hypothèses qui sont demeurées pratiquement les mêmes depuis le début, bien que les conditions économiques et sociales du pays aient changé depuis dix ou vingt ans, et que les relations entre l'administration fédérale et les états se soient profondément modifiées au cours des dix dernières années.

Non seulement les conditions auxquelles doivent remédier les programmes fédéraux ont évolué, mais nous savons aussi mieux qu'autrefois quelles sont les mesures qui sont ou ne sont pas applicables dans la pratique. Nous avons appris que l'adoption et l'application correcte de nouveaux programmes, qu'ils concernent l'enseignement ou d'autres services, demandaient du temps et dépendaient très largement des besoins locaux et de l'intérêt qui leur était porté au niveau local. Un programme fédéral donné ne revêtira pas partout la même forme et ne reposera pas toujours sur la même conception théorique du problème en cause. Son utilité à l'échelon local ne peut être garantie par des procédures administratives fédérales.

Dans ce chapitre, nous chercherons à voir comment les programmes actuels pourraient être rationalisés et mieux coordonnés. A cette fin, nous examinerons d'abord les questions générales telles que les conçoivent les bénéficiaires des services, les organismes qui les dispensent, les divers niveaux de l'appareil gouvernemental et l'administration fédérale. Nous passerons ensuite aux diverses réformes auxquelles les programmes pourraient être soumis afin qu'ils améliorent l'équité sans nuire à la qualité de l'enseignement, telles les mesures destinées à étendre le rôle des autorités fédérales.

LES BENEFICIAIRES

Question : Les programmes actuellement en vigueur améliorent-ils effectivement les chances des élèves de recevoir les services dont ils ont besoin ?

Services permanents et services temporaires

On pourrait faire valoir que, dans l'intérêt des bénéficiaires, les programmes et les services devraient former une séquence logique et ininterrompue. Tous ceux qui éprouveraient un besoin attesté d'aide spéciale seraient ainsi assurés d'en bénéficier aussi longtemps qu'elle leur serait nécessaire. En réalité, si les programmes répondent aux besoins des élèves de tous âges, ils n'ont toutefois pas été conçus pour constituer systématiquement un train de mesures suivies.

Un cadre assez logique est déjà en place à l'intérieur duquel sont assurés les services depuis l'âge préscolaire jusqu'à la fin de l'enseignement post-secondaire officiel. Cependant, il est probable qu'aucun enfant ne bénéficie effectivement de tous ces programmes, voire de la plupart d'entre eux. Le gouvernement fédéral part du principe que chaque état est responsable de l'ensemble de l'enseignement offert à ses citoyens ; il lui incombe donc uniquement de veiller à ce que tous bénéficient également des services dispensés par chacun des états. Il estime actuellement qu'il n'a pas pour tâche de fournir aux élèves un soutien permanent et à long terme, sauf dans le cas d'un enfant officiellement catalogué comme handicapé.

Le gouvernement a également postulé, dans la définition de son intervention, qu'aucun élève n'aurait besoin de ces services de façon continue, dans l'idée que si un élève donné bénéficie d'un programme d'intervention à un âge suffisamment précoce, il n'aura pas besoin d'être suivi de façon ininterrompue pendant toute sa scolarité. L'administration fédérale a pour principe de proposer des services à plusieurs points du système d'enseignement et de les dispenser au moment et là où l'élève en a besoin.

En particulier, les programmes qui vont de l'âge préscolaire à la fin des études secondaires n'ont pas été mis en oeuvre de façon à s'enchaîner logiquement l'un à l'autre. En d'autres termes, un enfant qui a suivi le programme "Head Start" ne bénéficiera pas automatiquement des dispositions du Titre I de l'ESEA, même s'il continue à avoir besoin d'une aide. Dans les conditions actuelles, il ne serait probablement pas possible d'envisager un service ininterrompu étant donné l'inégalité des ressources, la diversité des critères adoptés pour le choix des candidats, les différences dans la répartition géographique des projets, ainsi que la multiplicité des objectifs et des principes qui président aux programmes. En outre, l'administration fédérale n'a guère encouragé les autorités locales à fournir des services ininterrompus d'un programme à l'autre.

Il serait injuste de passer sous silence les efforts consentis pour assurer la continuité des services dispensés au titre d'un programme donné. C'est ainsi que les enfants admis à bénéficier d'un projet "Head Start" y participent pendant l'année considérée et l'année suivante, même si le revenu de leur famille a augmenté entre-temps. De même, les amendements apportés en 1978 à la loi sur l'enseignement qui concernent son Titre I stipulent que les enfants bénéficiaires des programmes du Titre I peuvent continuer à recevoir une aide même s'ils ont fait suffisamment de progrès pour ne plus avoir "un besoin urgent" de ces services, ou bien s'ils sont passés à une école qui n'a pas droit aux crédits prévus au Titre I. Les autorités scolaires locales doivent aussi veiller à offrir des services de nature à consolider les progrès des enfants après l'année pendant laquelle ils ont reçu une aide en vertu du Titre I. Pour illustrer cette prestation de services suivis aux termes d'un programme donné, on peut aussi citer les dispositions du "Upward Bound" en vertu desquelles les bénéficiaires ont droit à ce soutien pendant plusieurs années consécutives.

Les programmes d'études post-secondaires sont coordonnés de façon légèrement différente pour assurer la continuité des services, sans doute parce que, à ce niveau, les attributions se répartissent un peu différemment entre l'administration fédérale, les états et les autorités locales. Il appartient aux intéressés eux-mêmes de choisir en toute liberté les études post-secondaires qu'ils souhaitent faire, l'administration fédérale se limitant à offrir des bourses aux adolescents de familles à faible revenu afin qu'ils aient des possibilités meilleures d'entreprendre des études supérieures. Le Congrès et l'Exécutif ont mis au point tout un ensemble de mesures et de programmes qui correspond à une stratégie assez cohérente. Non seulement le législateur a admis le cumul, autrement dit, la possibilité de combiner plusieurs types d'aide pour les étudiants dans le besoin, mais il a aussi veillé à relier cette assistance aux programmes offerts aux élèves des écoles secondaires. Les programmes "Talent Search" et "Upward Bound" fournissent des renseignements sur les diverses formes d'aide existantes, et ils encouragent et conseillent les étudiants défavorisés à tirer parti de cette assistance. Les programmes d'aide aux étudiants sont aussi plus continus, en ce sens qu'ils s'appliquent à toute la durée normale des études préparant à un premier diplôme universitaire, à condition que la situation financière de l'étudiant demeure inchangée et que celui-ci obtienne des résultats satisfaisants.

Répartition générale des ressources

Les chances qu'a un élève de bénéficier de ces services sont aussi conditionnées par la répartition inégale de l'aide prévue aux différents niveaux d'enseignement.

La priorité actuellement accordée aux programmes d'intervention pour les enfants d'âge préscolaire, au détriment de ceux qui s'adressent aux élèves des écoles secondaires, ressort très clairement de l'écart entre les crédits budgétaires affectés aux programmes ou aux parties de programmes destinés à ces deux groupes d'âges. A eux seuls, les fonds alloués à deux programmes d'intervention pour les jeunes enfants, à savoir "Head Start" (625 millions de dollars pour l'exercice budgétaire 1977) et les dispositions du Titre I de l'ESEA qui concernent l'enseignement préscolaire et l'école primaire jusqu'à la sixième année incluse, atteignent un montant énorme si on le compare aux crédits consacrés aux programmes "Talent Search" (11 millions de dollars), "Upward Bound" (44 millions de dollars), et à la formation professionnelle de niveau secondaire (environ 65 millions de dollars).

Au niveau post-secondaire, le gouvernement fédéral a prévu des sommes considérables pour les étudiants qui réussissent à la "high school". Les dépenses afférentes aux bourses BEOG se montent à elles seules à 2 milliards de dollars pour l'exercice budgétaire 1978. Là encore, le déséquilibre est frappant par rapport aux crédits actuellement réservés aux élèves des écoles secondaires.

Cependant, il ne s'agit peut-être pas seulement d'une question de priorité budgétaire. En effet, deux autres raisons au moins éclairent la situation : les objectifs que soulèvent le rôle et les fonctions de l'enseignement secondaire américain dans une société en rapide mutation ; et le fait que la plupart des recherches relatives à l'acquisition des connaissances ont porté sur la petite enfance.

Ce n'est pas un hasard si l'acquisition des connaissances pendant la prime enfance a bénéficié d'une priorité. Les premières mesures qui furent élaborées, ainsi que leurs programmes d'application, ont vu le jour à un moment où l'opinion était favorable aux interventions pendant la petite enfance et ont subi l'influence des recherches menées pendant des décennies sur le développement de certaines caractéristiques de l'être humain, notamment celles d'ordre affectif et intellectuel. C'est ainsi que dans son examen synthétique de ces travaux de recherche, publié en 1964, Benjamin Bloom avait laissé entendre que la période la plus favorable au développement et à l'évolution de l'être humain, et plus particulièrement à l'éclosion de ses aptitudes générales, était celle des premières années de sa vie (entre un an et neuf ans). La publication de ces conclusions a coïncidé avec le lancement des propositions relatives aux programmes de la "Great Society" et a eu par la suite une influence décisive sur l'élaboration des programmes et le choix des groupes d'âge visés.

Cependant, à la suite des études et des articles récents sur l'intelligence et l'acquisition des connaissances pendant l'adolescence, il est impératif de se demander si l'administration fédérale a raison d'accorder une place aussi négligeable à l'enseignement de soutien pour les élèves des écoles secondaires. Larsen et Dittman, qui ont dressé un bilan des recherches consacrées à l'acquisition des connaissances chez les adolescents, ont fait remarquer qu'elles étaient dans l'ensemble assez minces par rapport à celles qui traitent de l'acquisition des connaissances chez les tout-petits. A propos de la priorité dont jouit actuellement la prime enfance dans les programmes fédéraux, ces deux auteurs ont fait observer que les adolescents ont des besoins différents auxquels une intervention précoce et un enseignement intensif des connaissances fondamentales ne peuvent répondre, quelle que soit l'utilité de ces mesures. Dans son analyse de la controverse que soulève le niveau de plus en plus faible des résultats obtenus par les enfants de ce groupe d'âge aux examens, Jencks fait observer que cette baisse se constate moins dans l'acquisition des connaissances fondamentales que dans la maîtrise de mécanismes d'apprentissage complexes, par exemple, l'aptitude à tirer des conclusions d'une lecture et à exposer des idées par écrit de façon logique et cohérente, ou encore, l'étendue des lectures et l'attention avec laquelle les textes sont lus. Chez les adolescents, on constate de grandes différences non seulement dans la rapidité de leur développement physique, mais aussi dans leur façon d'apprendre, leurs aspirations, leurs projets, leur manière de s'adapter à leur future vie d'adulte, etc., comme l'a noté le groupe de travail national qui vient d'être créé pour l'enseignement secondaire et l'enseignement destiné aux adolescents. Dans son rapport final, la Urban High School Reform Initiative avance des arguments solides en faveur d'une aide fédérale au niveau de l'enseignement secondaire.

Dans des sections précédentes, nous avons montré que le volume des services offerts en vertu des programmes en vigueur différait selon les groupes d'âge. Ces écarts sont en grande partie dus à des raisons d'ordre budgétaire mais également aux modalités adoptées pour l'affectation des crédits, qui prévoient soit l'attribution de sommes forfaitaires, soit l'octroi de subventions aux candidats qui en font la demande. C'est ainsi que, bien souvent, ce sera un critère purement géographique qui déterminera si un enfant bénéficiera ou non d'un programme.

Il est de plus en plus nécessaire d'améliorer les modalités de répartition des fonds dont sont assortis certains programmes d'aide financière aux étudiants des universités, afin que ceux qui ont des besoins à peu près semblables soient traités de la même manière dans les différentes régions. Les modalités actuellement en vigueur comportent trois étapes : des crédits sont octroyés sur une base forfaitaire aux divers états ; ceux-ci les répartissent ensuite entre les établissements d'enseignement post-secondaire en fonction des besoins prévus qui ont été estimés par un groupe de travail ; enfin, dans chaque établissement, l'administrateur chargé des bourses fixe le montant de la bourse qui revient à chacun des bénéficiaires. Il est évident qu'avec ce système de répartition des crédits, des besoins fondamentaux identiques risquent d'être traités de façons très différentes.

Les choix qui s'offrent aux adolescents

Il serait souhaitable que tout élève, quel que soit son âge, puisse choisir sa voie parmi plusieurs filières et options.

En particulier, il faudrait veiller à ce que les adolescents défavorisés qui font leurs études secondaires soient informés de l'aide à laquelle ils ont droit aussi bien pour acquérir une formation professionnelle que pour faire des études supérieures. Les autorités fédérales devraient encourager ces deux orientations en tant que solutions d'égale valeur pour les adolescents.

Les programmes de formation professionnelle pour les élèves défavorisés consistent en services spéciaux destinés à ceux qui ont besoin d'un soutien particulier ou d'un enseignement de rattrapage pour pouvoir suivre les programmes ordinaires de formation professionnelle. Ils s'adressent par conséquent aux jeunes gens qui ont déjà opté pour cette voie.

Les programmes "Talent Search", "Upward Bound" et les "Educational Opportunity Centers", au contraire, ont pour but d'aider et d'encourager les adolescents à terminer leurs études secondaires et à entreprendre des études post-secondaires. Bien que, d'après les dispositions législatives et réglementaires, ils s'appliquent également à l'enseignement professionnel et technique post-secondaire, 75 % au moins des bénéficiaires des programmes "Upward Bound", par exemple, sont inscrits dans un établissement d'enseignement supérieur ou une université non technique pour un cycle d'études de quatre ans, ce qui montre que ce programme incite les étudiants à opter pour des études théoriques.

LES FOURNISSEURS DES SERVICES

Question : Quels effets les programmes actuellement en vigueur ont-ils sur l'administration des services locaux et sur l'attention accordée aux besoins individuels des enfants et des adolescents ?

Avec la politique fédérale actuelle, les services d'enseignement primaire et secondaire sont dispensés sans grande coordination entre les programmes destinés à des groupes qui présentent des conditions et des besoins analogues. C'est ainsi que rien n'empêche une même école d'entreprendre parallèlement des projets qui relèvent de dispositions différentes, tels que l'Aide scolaire d'urgence (Emergency School Aid Act, ESAA), le programme d'enseignement bilingue et le Titre I, et cela se produit parfois. Cependant, il est difficile de coordonner les divers programmes dans les conditions existantes. Il suffira de mentionner les dispositions fédérales qui obligent à tenir une comptabilité distincte pour chaque projet, celles qui interdisent aux autorités locales tout report des crédits d'un programme à un autre, les conditions différentes exigées des bénéficiaires des divers programmes, ou encore le simple fait que chaque programme est administré par des fonctionnaires locaux différents.

Les programmes fédéraux ont aussi tendance à avoir des conséquences contradictoires qui sont source de confusion et de difficultés pour les autorités locales et les organismes de l'état chargés de leur administration. Il suffira d'en donner quelques exemples :

- Les dispositions législatives et réglementaires du Titre I de l'ESEA ont conduit les responsables locaux à retirer de leur classe les élèves appelés à bénéficier de l'enseignement prévu par cette loi. Cette pratique équivaut à une forme très nette de sélection et de ségrégation à l'intérieur de l'école qui, de l'avis de nombreux spécialistes, est tout à fait contraire aux bons principes pédagogiques. En outre, ces élèves sont souvent confiés à des maîtres spécialisés qui ont parfois du mal à s'entendre avec les enseignants de la classe ordinaire et à coordonner avec eux les méthodes pédagogiques qu'ils appliquent. Enfin, dans de très nombreux cas, les élèves sont exclus des leçons ordinaires de lecture (dispensées dans leur classe) pour suivre uniquement un enseignement spécial, de sorte qu'ils ne progressent guère plus rapidement.

- Cette sélection et cette ségrégation se retrouvent en général aussi dans les programmes d'enseignement bilingue.

- En revanche, la Loi sur l'enseignement pour tous les enfants handicapés exige que l'instruction soit dispensée dans un milieu aussi peu restrictif que possible, autrement dit, que ces élèves soient inclus dans les classes ordinaires.

- La répartition raciale des enseignants que les écoles d'une même circonscription devraient respecter est une autre source de problèmes. Le gouvernement fédéral a apparemment opté pour deux solutions différentes à cet égard.

1) Dans les cas d'infraction au Titre VI de l'ESEA, le Bureau pour les droits civiques prescrit que l'écart par rapport au pourcentage total d'enseignants de couleur dans la circonscription ne peut être supérieur ou inférieur à 5 points (par exemple, dans une circonscription scolaire qui compte 8 % d'enseignants de la minorité raciale, leur proportion dans le corps enseignant de chaque école doit obligatoirement se situer entre 3 et 13 %).

2) En revanche, pour qu'une école puisse bénéficier du programme "Emergency School Assistance" (aide scolaire d'urgence), l'écart par rapport à la proportion totale des enseignants de cette minorité ne doit pas être supérieur ou inférieur à 25 % (ainsi, pour la même circonscription, le pourcentage devra se situer entre 6 et 10 % : puisque le quart de 8 % est 2 %, soit l'écart autorisé pour une minorité de 8 %).

LES DIFFICULTES AUX DIVERS NIVEAUX DE L'ADMINISTRATION

Question : Quels sont les effets des procédures administratives utilisées pour les programmes en vigueur sur les rapports entre l'administration fédérale, les états et les autorités locales ?

Avec l'expansion récente des activités des états dans des domaines qui étaient autrefois du ressort de l'administration fédérale, la coordination entre les différents niveaux de l'administration a pris une importance nouvelle dans les mesures actuellement en vigueur, le gouvernement fédéral n'a pas toujours su tirer pleinement parti des avantages que pourrait procurer une coordination entre des activités exercées par l'administration fédérale et d'autres menées aux échelons inférieurs de l'administration. Parmi les problèmes qui ont été signalés, citons ceux-ci :

- Les crédits fédéraux alloués au programme "Pass Through" sont répartis forfaitairement entre les circonscriptions scolaires. Cette méthode directe exclut les états et va parfois à l'encontre des mesures préconisées par un état donné.
- L'interdiction de mélanger les crédits fédéraux et non fédéraux destinés à des actions semblables empêche indûment l'état et les autorités locales d'utiliser rationnellement leurs ressources.
- Les états qui sont particulièrement respectueux des priorités adoptées par l'administration fédérale pour l'enseignement sont traités comme les autres. Le gouvernement fédéral ne poursuit donc aucune incitation aux états afin qu'ils dépassent le seuil de réussite minimale requis.

La plupart des programmes fédéraux sont axés sur les ressources plutôt que sur les résultats : par conséquent, les bénéficiaires des fonds fédéraux s'attachent plus à tenir une comptabilité de leurs dépenses qu'à fournir la preuve que celles-ci ont servi à financer des activités ayant une valeur éducative réelle. La principale critique que soulèvent les contrôles budgétaires est donc qu'ils font entièrement abstraction des résultats obtenus dans l'enseignement. Parmi les autres critiques importantes, on peut citer les suivantes :

- Les contrôles budgétaires ne réussissent pas toujours à atteindre leur but déclaré, qui est de garantir que les fonds du gouvernement fédéral ne remplaceront pas la base locale de financement de l'enseignement.
- Ils se fondent sur le postulat que les relations entre les bénéficiaires des subventions et l'administration fédérale ne sont pas bonnes, de sorte qu'ils entravent sans raison les autorités scolaires et les établissements qui conforment entièrement leurs objectifs aux ordres de priorité du gouvernement fédéral.
- S'ils sont excessifs, ces contrôles risquent d'augmenter les frais administratifs et réduire d'autant l'effet des crédits fédéraux sur les programmes locaux d'enseignement.
- Comme nous l'avons déjà vu, ils conduisent dans de nombreux cas à adopter des méthodes pédagogiques contestables, comme celle de retirer les enfants de leur classe normale pour un enseignement spécial.

LES DIFFICULTES QUI SE POSENT AU NIVEAU FEDERAL

Question : Quels sont les obstacles qui s'opposent à une meilleure coordination des programmes à l'échelon fédéral ?

La diversité des principes dont s'inspirent les programmes

Dans toute mesure destinée à mieux harmoniser les programmes existants, il faut avant tout tenir compte des différences qui séparent les principes sur lesquels ils sont fondé et qui se traduisent par des différences dans les réponses que chacun d'eux donnent à un même besoin. Ces différences sont parfois plus apparentes que réelles, mais elles deviennent frappantes chaque fois qu'il faut procéder à une répartition détaillée des ressources disponibles, par exemple, dans l'examen du budget ou dans les décisions relatives aux échelons et aux services auxquels doit être affecté le personnel administratif.

Une question revient dans tous ces débats : les enfants d'âge préscolaire et les élèves de l'école primaire et secondaire doivent-ils bénéficier de services complets favorisant leur développement ou bien uniquement d'un enseignement de soutien ? Elle s'est posée une fois de plus lorsque le Congrès a récemment examiné l'utilité qu'il y aurait d'inclure le programme "Head Start" dans les attributions d'un nouveau ministère fédéral de l'Education. Cette solution aurait l'avantage de mettre en évidence les différences fondamentales entre ce programme de vaste envergure et le programme du Titre I de l'ESEA.

Les procédures

Les procédures soulèvent, elles aussi, des difficultés très réelles qui ont une incidence sur la coordination des programmes fédéraux d'enseignement pour les élèves défavorisés.

L'élaboration et l'amélioration des mesures. L'élaboration de l'action gouvernementale présente en soi des difficultés du fait que toutes les méthodes prévues pour l'élaboration, la modification et la mise en oeuvre des mesures sont conçues en vue d'examens et de décisions distincts pour chaque programme. Les différentes mesures fédérales sont contenues dans différents textes législatifs qui sont revus par le Congrès selon des calendriers différents. Ces mesures distinctes sont du ressort de différents services administratifs de l'Exécutif et de différentes commissions et sous-commissions du Congrès. La promulgation des réglementations s'effectue aussi selon des calendriers différents. Pour toute action concertée, il faudrait réviser radicalement de nombreuses procédures administratives du gouvernement fédéral ou bien assurer une coordination sérieuse - et difficile. Le nouveau ministère de l'Education ouvre des perspectives pour la solution de ces problèmes et pour une meilleure coordination des programmes.

L'administration. Les procédures relatives à l'administration et aux vérifications comptables diffèrent pour chaque programme selon les modalités prévues pour la répartition des crédits, les catégories de bénéficiaires, et les conditions ou critères d'admission. Les prescriptions relatives au contrôle budgétaire varient selon les programmes mais elles présentent certaines dispositions communes, par exemple l'interdiction faite aux états ou aux autorités locales de mélanger les crédits fédéraux destinés à des programmes distincts et l'obligation de soumettre pour chaque programme un rapport d'évaluation portant à la fois sur l'utilisation des crédits et sur les résultats du programme. Des mesures ont été prises récemment pour réduire le nombre des conditions imposées aux autorités locales et aux états pour la présentation des rapports aussi bien sur les dépenses que sur les résultats.

Toutes ces difficultés d'ordre administratif devront être prises soigneusement en considération le jour où on élaborera une action plus cohérente pour les élèves défavorisés. Etant donné que les procédures actuelles ont été établies en fonction des objectifs des différentes mesures et des différents programmes, toute réforme de ces procédures obligerait à examiner avec la plus grande attention les répercussions qu'elle pourrait avoir sur les grandes lignes d'action, les objectifs et l'intervention du gouvernement fédéral que le législateur avait stipulés à l'origine.

PROPOSITIONS DE REFORME

Les efforts que déploient les Etats-Unis pour réformer l'éducation des groupes défavorisés font actuellement l'objet de discussions. Ces efforts s'orientent vers plusieurs objectifs différents.

Refonte des programmes fédéraux

Depuis 1965 environ, plusieurs propositions ont été présentées en vue de refondre les diverses sortes de programmes fédéraux d'enseignement primaire ou secondaire destinés à une catégorie donnée de bénéficiaires. Le "Congressional Budget Office" a décrit trois types de refonte que le Congrès a envisagés. Pendant l'exercice budgétaire 1976, le Président Ford a proposé un système de subventions forfaitaires qui aurait pratiquement supprimé le contrôle par catégorie d'aide auquel l'administration fédérale doit soumettre les programmes d'enseignement pour vingt sept d'entre eux (y compris le Titre I) : en effet, ils auraient été groupés en un bloc auquel aurait été allouée une subvention unique sous le contrôle des états. Cette proposition n'a pas reçu l'approbation du Congrès. Pendant ses 94ème et 95ème sessions, celui-ci a été saisi d'un projet de loi par les sénateurs Domenici et Bellmon qui prévoyait un regroupement des programmes selon leurs objectifs, ce qui aurait conduit à allouer une subvention unique aux programmes destinés à un groupe particulier (par exemple, aux enfants défavorisés du point de vue scolaire, en vertu du Titre I, des programmes "Head Start", "Follow Through", etc. Ce projet de loi a été refusé par le Sénat. Un troisième type de refonte consiste à regrouper tous les programmes conçus pour un même secteur général de l'enseignement, comme cela s'est passé pour la formation professionnelle pendant l'exercice budgétaire 1976, où un grand nombre de programmes relevant de la Loi sur la formation professionnelle ont été réunis en une seule subvention de base aux états. De ces trois possibilités, seule la refonte en fonction des objectifs aurait d'importantes conséquences budgétaires parce qu'elle incite les états à participer à ces programmes et parce qu'elle s'accompagne de l'allocation de fonds pour l'élaboration des programmes dans les états.

Les conséquences qu'auraient les refontes proposées dépendraient des modifications qu'elles entraîneraient dans les attributions actuelles de l'administration fédérale et dans l'étendue des contrôles budgétaires auxquels le gouvernement fédéral soumet les programmes destinés à une catégorie donnée de bénéficiaires, du degré auquel les objectifs initiaux des programmes seraient maintenus et des services que les bénéficiaires prévus recevraient effectivement s'il incombait aux états d'opérer des choix parmi les divers besoins à couvrir. Ces refontes donneraient aussi plus de latitude aux états et aux autorités locales pour l'utilisation des crédits fédéraux et réduiraient probablement de façon appréciable la charge de travail administratif (demandes de crédits, plans à élaborer par les états, etc.).

Un système d'aide générale

Nombre de décideurs et de groupes d'intérêt tels que le National Education Association (NEA) plaident depuis longtemps en faveur d'un système d'aide fédérale générale à l'enseignement. En bref, cette aide serait répartie entre les états et les autorités locales selon une base de calcul qui pourrait être un taux censitaire simple ou un barème fondé sur les dépenses courantes par élève. Les états et les autorités locales les utiliseraient comme des recettes générales allouées à l'enseignement sans que le gouvernement fédéral exerce un autre contrôle sur leur emploi.

Les adversaires du système d'aide générale s'y opposent pour plusieurs raisons. L'adoption d'un système d'aide générale, quel qu'il soit, modifierait considérablement les compétences de l'administration fédérale dans l'enseignement et pourrait avoir pour effet de réduire notablement l'importance présentement accordée aux élèves défavorisés ainsi que le montant des ressources disponibles pour atteindre les objectifs actuels. D'autre part, pour que les jeunes défavorisés continuent à bénéficier du même soutien qu'ils reçoivent à l'heure actuelle, il faudrait considérablement augmenter les crédits fédéraux prévus à cet effet.

Amélioration des programmes fédéraux. Une vaste refonte des programmes fédéraux ou l'adoption d'un système d'aide générale ne sont peut-être ni réalisables ni souhaitables à l'heure actuelle. Des programmes importants, comme ceux qui relèvent du Titre I de l'ESEA, et l'enseignement pour tous les enfants handicapés semblent être indispensables au maintien des attributions de l'administration fédérale dans l'enseignement primaire et secondaire. Il serait cependant possible d'augmenter sensiblement les effets des programmes fédéraux et de renforcer considérablement la coopération : il suffirait d'améliorer les programmes existants. Les différentes mesures à envisager pourraient être, entre autres, celles-ci :

- Réduire les incompatibilités. L'incompatibilité entre certains programmes différents, mais interdépendants du point de vue pratique, embarrasse tout particulièrement les états et les autorités scolaires locales, et elle est souvent une cause supplémentaire de confusion et de critiques à l'encontre des objectifs visés par le gouvernement fédéral. Si ces incompatibilités étaient identifiées et éliminées, la rationalisation des mesures fédérales s'en trouverait grandement améliorée.
- Supprimer le cloisonnement excessif. La fusion de programmes distincts pour lesquels les compétences fédérales sont les mêmes pourrait être aussi une mesure utile. Cette solution semble pouvoir s'appliquer le mieux aux programmes de portée limitée qui fournissent un soutien spécial.
- Coordonner les programmes dont les objectifs sont analogues. Un autre moyen utile - en particulier pour les programmes de grande envergure - consisterait à regrouper les programmes selon leurs objectifs fonctionnels. En effet, des programmes distincts dont les buts sont semblables empêchent de saisir clairement les ordres de priorité de l'administration

fédérale, et créent des doubles emplois dans les tâches administratives. Un groupement par catégories générales d'objectifs fonctionnels ferait ressortir les ordres de priorité fédéraux à tous les niveaux de l'administration.

- Inclure les activités de recherche et développement dans les services dispensés au titre des programmes. Le gouvernement fédéral finance la recherche en matière d'éducation au niveau national et la recherche orientée vers l'amélioration de certains programmes. Le National Institute of Education (NIE) a été créé par décision du Congrès pour assurer la direction des recherches en ce domaine au niveau national. Il s'attache avant tout aux problèmes généraux du système éducatif américain et contribue à d'autres travaux de recherche et développement entrepris par des organismes fédéraux. Il est indispensable de coordonner les activités de R-D menées par les divers organes fédéraux. La réorganisation de la recherche par le nouveau ministère de l'Education permettra certainement de résoudre ce problème.

- Différencier les relations avec les états. L'un des moyens auxquels le gouvernement fédéral pourrait recourir pour distinguer les états qui entretiennent de bons rapports avec lui et encourager les autres à suivre leur exemple consisterait à graduer, en fonction de la gravité de l'infraction, les sanctions qu'il inflige à ceux qui ne se conforment pas à ses directives. Il pourrait aussi relâcher ses prescriptions administratives dans les états à mesure que ceux-ci se rapprochent des normes de réussite pour les programmes.

- Instituer des mesures spéciales d'encouragement. Dans les états, il existe déjà de nombreuses activités destinées à améliorer l'enseignement de la lecture et de l'écriture et la formation des enseignants, qui sont conformes aux priorités prévues dans les programmes fédéraux. Pour ces initiatives, l'administration fédérale pourrait rendre moins rigoureuse l'interdiction de mélanger les crédits afférents à différents programmes.

L'adoption de nouveaux systèmes de supervision des programmes

Si souhaitable que soit une amélioration de la coordination des programmes, ceux-ci devront néanmoins continuer à faire l'objet d'une supervision. Les programmes fédéraux ayant été créés en vue d'atteindre certains objectifs précis, il faudra conserver certaines procédures pour pouvoir en suivre l'exécution et veiller à ce qu'ils demeurent conformes aux objectifs choisis. Si l'administration fédérale adoptait une position plus souple à l'égard de certaines questions administratives, les états et les fournisseurs des services parviendraient peut-être à mettre en oeuvre des mesures plus efficaces et mieux coordonnées pour les élèves défavorisés. Les raisons qui justifieraient un certain assouplissement des programmes d'enseignement primaire et secondaire seront examinées ci-après. Dans l'enseignement post-secondaire, en revanche, où la fraude et les abus deviennent de plus en plus fréquents, il sera peut-être nécessaire d'instituer des contrôles plus rigoureux.

Un système de contrôles budgétaires moins absolu. Le moyen d'améliorer la réalisation des programmes fédéraux consisterait à accorder moins d'importance aux contrôles budgétaires et à appliquer ceux-ci d'une manière plus sélective et plus souple. On citera à titre d'exemple l'"Impact Aid Program" (Article 5, alinéa d 2) aux termes duquel les états qui ont lancé des programmes en faveur de l'égalité des chances sont autorisés à ne pas tenir compte des fonds qu'ils ont reçus à ce titre du gouvernement fédéral dans le calcul du montant de leurs propres subventions aux autorités locales. Il s'agit là non seulement d'un assouplissement du contrôle budgétaire fondé sur les résultats, mais encore d'une mesure de nature à encourager la coopération des états et à conduire à intégrer des programmes fédéraux et des programmes des états qui demeureraient distincts à défaut de cette disposition.

Dispositions législatives prescrivant l'application de certaines procédures. L'importance primordiale accordée aux contrôles budgétaires était partiellement due au fait qu'on jugeait nécessaire de superviser les activités des autorités scolaires et des écoles locales. Mais, si le gouvernement fédéral s'inquiétait essentiellement du coût des programmes et ne tenait guère compte de leur contenu, la raison en est aussi qu'il n'est pas habilité à intervenir directement dans les questions qui touchent aux programmes d'études. En outre, et c'est là probablement la principale raison, on n'avait en général pas une connaissance suffisante de l'efficacité des diverses méthodes d'enseignement pour que le législateur puisse établir des prescriptions portant sur le contenu.

Dispositions en matière de planification. Mise à part l'évaluation directe des résultats, l'expérience nous prouve qu'il serait justifié d'augmenter sensiblement le nombre de dispositions pour la planification et l'application des procédures. Ainsi, nous savons que les programmes fédéraux basés exclusivement sur des mesures budgétaires seront vraisemblablement peu propices à l'engagement ou à la participation des enseignants et des parents. L'adoption de dispositions en faveur d'une planification locale est l'un des moyens de remédier au problème. L'état actuel des connaissances que nous avons des pratiques pédagogiques nous autorise à recommander plusieurs mesures susceptibles d'améliorer la planification :

- Evaluation des besoins dans les circonscriptions scolaires. Pour mesurer l'influence des programmes fédéraux, on peut examiner les modifications que les autorités locales ont apportées à leurs ordres de priorité pour les conformer aux objectifs prévus dans les programmes. Si l'administration fédérale faisait établir des études d'évaluation des besoins, elle aiderait certainement les autorités scolaires locales et les associations de parents d'élèves à prendre conscience de la diversité des besoins d'instruction auxquels répondent les différentes écoles du système.
- Plans d'études individuels. Rien ne peut remplacer, surtout dans l'enseignement de soutien, un examen des besoins et des capacités des enfants pris individuellement. La Loi sur l'enseignement pour tous les enfants handicapés a ouvert une voie nouvelle en stipulant que des plans d'études individuels seront établis pour chaque élève relevant de ses dispositions et en autorisant les parents à faire appel s'ils estiment que le plan élaboré pour leurs enfants ne convient pas à ceux-ci.

- Participation des parents et de la collectivité. Le meilleur moyen de garantir que les enseignants et les autorités scolaires locales accompliront consciencieusement leurs tâches de planification, est de demander aux personnes les plus directement intéressées d'y participer. Il faudrait élaborer, en collaboration avec des associations de parents et d'enseignants, les plans nécessaires pour remédier aux déséquilibres ou répondre à des besoins particuliers et publier le plan définitif. De même, il est indispensable que les parents participent à l'établissement des plans d'études individuels pour leurs enfants.

- L'élaboration des plans dans les écoles. Un certain nombre de ces problèmes pourraient être résolus si des plans généraux d'enseignement étaient élaborés et mis en oeuvre dans chaque école. Ces plans seraient établis en fonction des besoins des différentes catégories d'élèves (Titre I de l'ESEA, élèves handicapés, enseignement bilingue, etc.), et contribueraient à éviter les mesures de ségrégation comme celles qui consistent à retirer les élèves de leur classe pour un enseignement spécial ou à créer des classes entièrement distinctes pour les élèves bilingues. Les dispositions actuellement en vigueur pèsent le plus lourdement sur les écoles qui comptent une forte proportion d'élèves bénéficiaires d'un programme fédéral. Dans ce cas, il serait peut-être particulièrement judicieux que l'ensemble de l'école applique une stratégie intégrée pour l'enseignement de soutien. Si le plan était en même temps approuvé par les parents, il fournirait aux écoles un moyen de rendre compte de leurs résultats et d'en informer les parents.

Normes pour les résultats. Pour simplifier les procédures actuelles, plusieurs normes différentes ont été proposées :

- Normes pour les ressources. L'une des méthodes utilisables consisterait à suivre l'utilisation des crédits fédéraux au niveau local, afin de s'assurer qu'ils sont effectivement consacrés aux élèves à qui ils sont destinés. Une seconde méthode consisterait à contrôler directement les ressources reçues par les élèves visés. Il faudrait fixer un niveau de ressources jugé acceptable pour les élèves bénéficiaires du Titre I de l'ESEA (par exemple), et les autorités scolaires locales seraient tenues de fournir en moyenne ce montant aux élèves dont le droit au Titre I a été établi, quelle que soit l'origine des crédits. Ce niveau pourrait être égal au montant moyen des dépenses par élève encourues par les autorités scolaires locales, conformément aux dispositions prévues au Titre I de l'ESEA. Avec cette méthode, il serait possible de mélanger les crédits alloués par le gouvernement fédéral, les états et les autorités locales pour aider les élèves qui ont des besoins particuliers, et renforcer la différenciation des besoins vers laquelle tendent les plans des états en faveur d'une péréquation. Si cette méthode était combinée avec celles qui président à l'élaboration des plans dans les écoles, elle pourrait avoir une action puissante. Les vérificateurs des comptes de l'administration fédérale auraient pour tâche nouvelle de s'attacher essentiellement aux ressources allouées à l'éducation de certains enfants et à leurs besoins d'instruction plutôt qu'à vérifier l'utilisation des crédits fédéraux.

- Normes pour les ressources des états. On pourrait appliquer une méthode semblable pour fixer les normes des ressources des états. L'article 5, alinéa d(2) du programme "Impact Aid", par exemple, fixe des normes en vertu desquelles les états qui se conforment suffisamment au principe de la péréquation peuvent ne pas tenir compte des crédits fédéraux qui leur ont été versés pour cette aide dans le calcul du montant de leurs propres subventions. Une méthode analogue pourrait être utilisée pour tout autre programme fédéral important. Si les états appliquent déjà une législation et des modalités de financement conformes aux objectifs de l'administration fédérale, il n'y a aucune raison d'exiger qu'ils utilisent les crédits fédéraux à d'autres fins que l'aide générale. Dans ce cas, l'administration fédérale les obligerait, pour des raisons d'ordre comptable, à effectuer une vérification systématique par sondage, mais la charge de la preuve serait renversée.

- Normes pour les résultats. Il sera peut-être souhaitable de fixer des normes pour les résultats de l'enseignement en général afin de vérifier si les objectifs fédéraux ont été atteints. Cette méthode est utilisée dans le programme d'enseignement bilingue. Les élèves doivent quitter les classes bilingues de transition dès qu'ils sont capables de suivre le programme en anglais. Une autre solution pourrait tirer parti de la tendance actuelle des états à prescrire, pour la délivrance des diplômes, des normes différenciées en fonction des capacités. Afin de suivre les progrès réalisés par les états ou les autorités scolaires locales dans l'enseignement de soutien ou dans le programme pour les élèves handicapés, on pourrait adopter un système qui tiendrait compte des normes minimales établies par les états. Toutefois, le problème réside dans le fait que les états sont susceptibles d'établir des normes minimales différentes. Mais d'autre part, on s'oppose fermement à ce que l'administration fédérale fixe d'autorité des normes minimales pour l'ensemble des Etats-Unis.

EXTENSION DES ATTRIBUTIONS DE L'ADMINISTRATION FEDERALE EN MATIERE DE FINANCEMENT DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT

Jusqu'à présent, l'administration fédérale était dotée de pouvoirs limités dans le secteur de l'enseignement et avait surtout pour tâche d'élaborer des programmes soigneusement conçus en vue d'améliorer l'enseignement existant. Ces programmes avaient tous un objectif fondamental en commun : donner aux enfants défavorisés de meilleures possibilités d'instruction ; mais il est douteux que l'administration fédérale puisse encore sensiblement progresser dans cette voie si elle n'adopte pas une méthode plus globale de financement de l'enseignement. Il existe de grandes disparités entre les ressources dont disposent les circonscriptions et les états en faveur de l'enseignement, de sorte que les possibilités d'instruction dont dispose un enfant dépendent souvent de l'endroit où il habite. Cette inégalité des chances est encore aggravée par le fait que les groupes de la population qui ont besoin d'une aide particulière sont généralement concentrés dans des régions qui disposent de recettes fiscales réduites ou bien dans lesquelles les dépenses d'enseignement sont élevées.

L'aide fédérale en vue d'une péréquation à l'intérieur des états

Un certain nombre d'états ont adopté des réformes importantes de leur système de financement afin de rendre les dépenses par élève moins tributaires des ressources budgétaires locales. Dans plusieurs états, cependant, les systèmes non fondés sur le principe d'une péréquation n'ont pas été réorganisés, et dans certains de ceux qui ont entrepris des réformes, il semble que les systèmes restructurés n'ont pas atteint un niveau de péréquation suffisant. On pourrait adopter les mesures suivantes pour encourager les états à tenir compte des normes fédérales dans leurs réformes visant à instituer une péréquation dans leurs systèmes de financement :

- un nouveau programme d'aide générale,
- l'inclusion *d'incitations financières* dans les programmes existants (par exemple le Titre I de l'ESEA et l'Enseignement pour tous les enfants handicapés) pour les états qui adoptent des réformes visant à instituer une péréquation,
- une augmentation des subventions accordées par l'administration fédérale pour encourager l'élaboration et la mise en oeuvre, par les états et les autorités locales, de plans de péréquation à l'échelle de l'état,
- l'octroi d'une aide à la planification assortie d'incitations financières au moyen de programmes comme celui pour les handicapés et ceux du Titre I de l'ESEA.

Ces mesures pourraient encourager les états à adopter par voie législative les dispositions fédérales relatives aux dépenses supplémentaires indispensables à l'instruction de certains enfants. Après un certain temps, l'aide fédérale pourrait se transformer en une aide générale pour les états qui auraient repris ces dispositions fédérales dans leur législation.

L'aide fédérale en vue d'une péréquation entre les états

Il existe de grandes disparités entre les recettes que les différents états allouent à l'enseignement et ces disparités sont étroitement liées à leur capacité fiscale. Seul le gouvernement fédéral est en mesure de réduire ces différences. Les subventions qu'il verse actuellement n'ont qu'un effet marginal sur la réduction de ces écarts entre les différents états, et l'administration fédérale ne peut, sans s'écarter de ses attributions constitutionnelles, prendre l'initiative de réduire les écarts, initiative qui serait très coûteuse pour avoir quelque effet.

CONCLUSION

Il est évident qu'une réévaluation approfondie des initiatives prises jusqu'à présent contribuerait à l'instauration d'une équité sociale plus grande que nous cherchons à atteindre au moyen de nos mesures et de nos programmes actuels en matière d'enseignement. Il est certain aussi que nous avons le choix entre plusieurs stratégies pour améliorer l'efficacité des mesures actuelles. Peut-être la gageure consiste-t-elle pour nous à concevoir une stratégie budgétaire qui puisse en même temps encourager les états et les autorités locales à améliorer les résultats, à innover et à coordonner leurs activités, sans pour autant étouffer tout effort de créativité ou compromettre le nécessaire contrôle de l'utilisation des fonds fédéraux. En dernière analyse, cette stratégie devra conduire à l'adoption de bonnes pratiques pédagogiques et accroître le nombre des services fournis aux enfants défavorisés, en améliorer l'efficacité et en relever la qualité.

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